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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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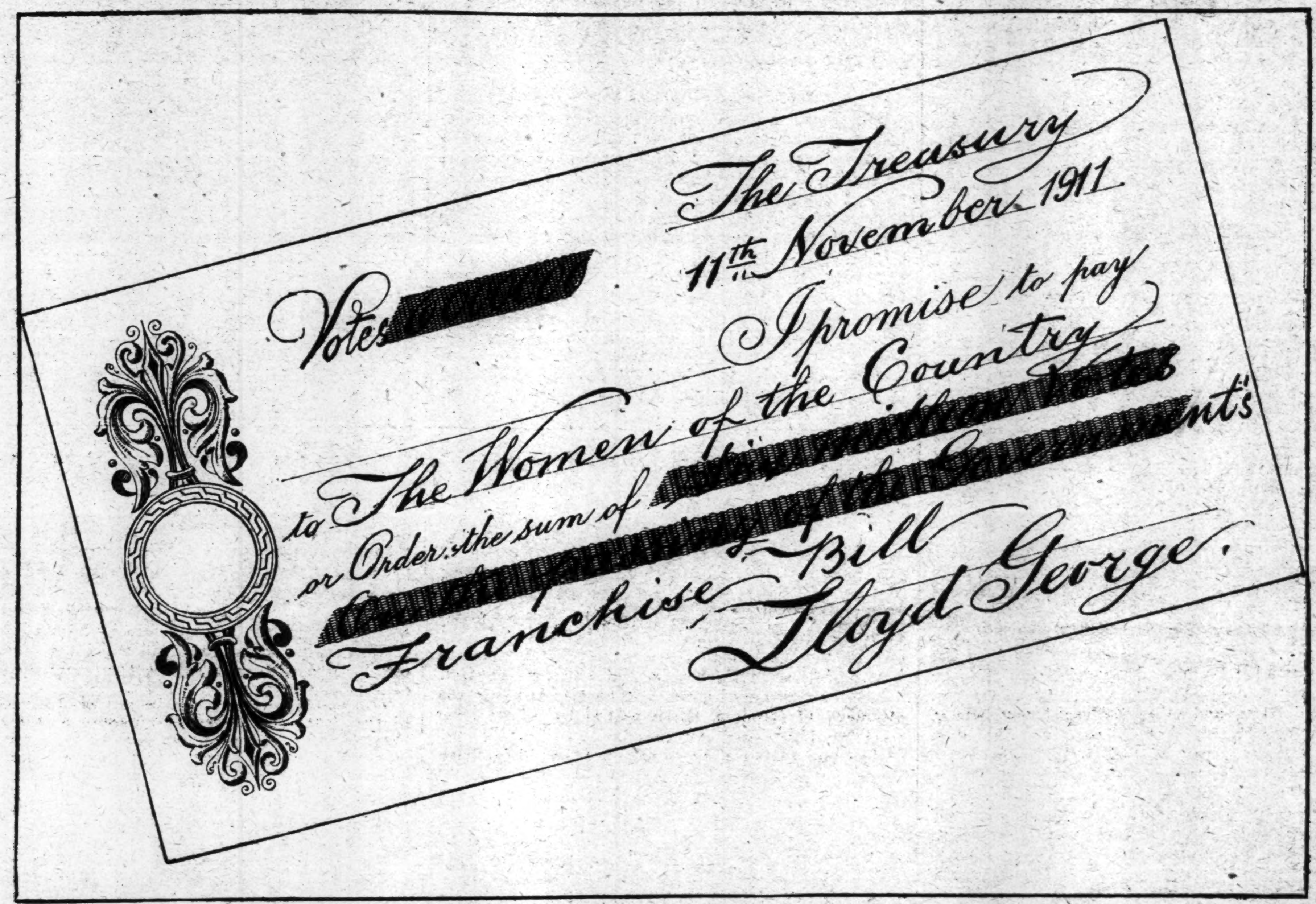
SHORTLY TO BECOME DUE



IS MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S ACCOUNT GOOD FOR THE AMOUNT?

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The precise date when the Franchise Bill will go into Committee in the House of Commons has not yet been fixed, but it will certainly not be earlier than Thursday in next week, January 23, and perhaps not before Friday, January 24, or even Monday, January 27.

The Parliamentary Time Table

It was originally suggested that the principal Woman Suffrage amendments should be discussed before the "time table" for the whole Bill had been considered, but this is now regarded as unlikely. The procedure will, therefore, in all probability be somewhat as follows: On Thursday or Friday in next week a resolution will be moved allocating time for the different clauses and sections of the Bill. As soon as this has been disposed of a debate and a vote will be taken on Sir Edward Grey's amendment to omit the word "male" from the first line of Clause One. Subsequently at intervals the fate of the three rival Woman Suffrage amendments will be decided; these embody (1) adult male and female suffrage, (2) the "Norwegian" amendment conferring the vote upon women who are either householders or the wives of men electors, with the further variant that women electors must be over 25 years of age, (3) the "Conciliation Bill" amendment, giving the vote to women householders only. It has been suggested that three days' discussion in all should be allocated to the Woman Suffrage amendments, and that possibly this period should be subdivided so as to provide for adequate discussion of each of them separately.

Universal Interest in the Question

As the date draws near, the fundamental importance of the question is being more and more appreciated. Far-reaching as are the effects of the changes provided by the Franchise Bill as it stands, it is admitted on all hands that the most vital interest centres in that which has been left out from its provisions—the extension of the vote to women. In view of this fact, the boycott of the general daily Press is breaking down, and the subject is beginning to receive something of the attention which it deserves. Foremost among those who have taken an active part in discussing the Woman Suffrage position has been the *Daily Herald,* which has always been a good friend to the movement, and which, during the last ten days, has devoted a considerable amount of space to articles written by its Special Commissioner appointed to investigate the situation.

Cabinet Intrigue Exposed by "Daily Herald"

The importance of these articles cannot be overestimated, and we recommend our readers not to content themselves with our comments upon them here or the brief summary which we give elsewhere (page 227), but to read them all carefully for themselves, if indeed they have not already done so. The chief point which the *Herald* writer makes is the exposure of the intrigue which has been going on in the Cabinet for stifling the Woman Suffrage amendments. Mr. Lulu Harcourt, the avowed anti-Suffragist, and Mr. Winston Churchill, the "promising" politician who is a Suffragist at elections and an anti-Suffragist when elected, have been busily spreading the rumour that the passage of any one of the amendments will mean the break up of the Liberal Cabinet. In view of this, the public silence of Mr. Asquith, and his refusal definitely to give the lie to the rumour, can only be interpreted as a distinct breach of his pledge that the House of Commons would be left free to decide the issue, and that the Cabinet would bow to the decision thus expressed. The *Herald* Commissioner believes that his exposure has already done much to prevent the continuance of the intrigue, and indicates that Mr. Asquith has been constrained to take some steps to contradict the rumour as to the Cabinet. He further warns Mr.

Redmond that he will be doing a grave injury to the cause of Home Rule if he brings pressure to bear upon the Nationalist members to prevent them from supporting Woman Suffrage.

The "Daily Citizen" Speaks Out

On Wednesday last the *Daily Citizen*, the other great Labour daily, also entered the lists to protest against the way in which Mr. Asquith's pledge was being kept in the letter but, "with or without the knowledge of the Premier," being broken in the spirit. A trenchant leading article contains these words:—

> The Prime Minister owes it to himself, if he is to be entirely absolved from active or passive complicity in these rumours, to make a clear statement, showing (1) that the question of women's suffrage should be settled by the individual conscience of members unhampered by party ties and ulterior considerations; (2) that the passing of the women's amendment will in no way affect the prospect of legislation now before the House; (3) that, if a suffrage amendment is carried, it will afterwards form part of the Government Bill and every effort made to pass the measure into law. We think that Mr. Asquith's pledge and the attempts being made by anti-suffragists to get behind it necessitate such a statement, and it will be much more valuable if made during the next few days.

This expression of opinion, taken in conjunction with that of the *Daily Herald*, shows that the Labour world is waking up to the need for the enfranchisement of women, and is alive to the trickery which has been going on in the Cabinet with regard to it.

A Liberal Paper's View

The *Nation*, in a leading article this week on "The Chances for Woman Suffrage," deals with the political undercurrents which are likely to affect M.P.'s in casting their votes, saying:—

> There are several who, if they are persuaded at the time that the inclusion of women will embarrass the Government and endanger the other great measures that are passing through the House of Commons, will either abstain or possibly give an adverse vote. These last have also to take into account the very serious consequences that will follow if all the amendments to include women are rejected; and not a few are inclined to believe that this is a unique opportunity for settling a vexed question, the suspension of which must continue to be infinitely embarrassing to the Administration in power.

It warns the Irish that "the danger to Home Rule would be very much greater if the Irish as a party were to decide on a hostile attitude to the women." And while holding that the Prime Minister has provided a "fair opportunity" and that "no conceivable Government can on their own initiative introduce a Bill to enfranchise women," yet reminds M.P.'s that if this opportunity fails women will have every justification in declaring that they have once more been betrayed.

W.S.P.U. Deputation to be Received

The working women's deputation organised by the W.S.P.U. and led by Mrs. Drummond is not to be received by Mr. Asquith, but by Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Grey, and other Suffragist members of the Cabinet. It has been fixed for Thursday, January 23, and great interest will attach to the answer made to the women, who will certainly not be satisfied unless some assurance very much more definite than anything which has been presented before is given to them. In view of the decision of the W.S.P.U. to abstain from all militancy pending the voting on the amendments to the Franchise Bill, no excuse will be provided to members of the Cabinet or rank and file Members of Parliament for failure to fulfil the pledges which they have made at various times to women. Unless, therefore, a substantial amendment enfranchising women is carried, the blame for the continued exclusion of women from citizenship will fall on the shoulders of those who wrecked the compromise embodied in the Conciliation Bill in 1911.

Eight Months in the First Division

Miss Billinghurst and Miss Gay were sentenced at the Old Bailey on Thursday last to eight months in the first division for the injury caused by them to letters in the post, the Recorder remarking that he recognised the purity of their motives, which differentiated them from many other women guilty of similar actions. Miss Mitchell, in view of the state of her health, was bound over to come up for judgment when called upon. While we are glad that the Recorder recognised the nobility of motives of the defendants before him, we wonder on what ground he based his condemnation of other women whom he had not seen; surely one who has the responsibility of administering the law should not trust to hearsay evidence which he must know is always unreliable, and which happens in the present case to be absolutely false! Again, while the length of the sentence is outrageous and utterly disproportionate to the offence, we are glad that the political character is recognised by placing the prisoners in the first division. We are afraid, however, this wise recognition comes too late, for though the hunger strike was originally a weapon to secure political rights in prison and full first division treatment would have satisfied the early pioneers, continued disregard of justice has driven women to a still more vigorous determination, and Miss Billinghurst had already announced her intention of adopting this terrible weapon in any event; and she is therefore in all probability already being subjected to forcible feeding in prison.

A New Federation of Suffrage Bodies

We attach considerable importance to the announcement that we are able to make in another column of the formation of a Federated Council of Women Suffrage Societies, in which a group of hitherto unattached Suffrage organisations are to find a common basis for their activities. The new Federation includes national societies such as the National Political League, the New Constitutional Society, and the Men's League; sectional societies such as the Actresses' Franchise League, the Women Writers' Suffrage League, and the religious leagues, and various local societies which have not affiliated to other bodies. The president is Muriel, Countess De La Warr, the chairman Miss M. A. Broadhurst, the secretary Miss Conolan, and the treasurer Dr. Adeline Roberts. Of course, the value of the organisation will depend on how far it is prepared to strike out a vigorous line for itself in the event of the amendments to the Franchise Bill being defeated. In such a case it ought clearly to demand a Government measure for Woman Suffrage, and in default take up a strong anti-Government policy, and this we gather it is proposing to do. We also hope that, though non-militant itself, it will throw the blame for any militancy which may arise on the shoulders of those who through their obstinacy or duplicity have made militancy necessary.

The Municipal Clause in the Bill

The Women's Local Government Society are undertaking a strong campaign with the object of amending the clause of the Bill dealing with the Municipal Franchise, the anti-woman tendency of which we pointed out last week. Under the Bill as it stands, both women freeholders and lodgers are altogether excluded from the municipal register in England, though admitted to it in other parts of Great Britain, and married women, except in London, are excluded from the County and Borough Council electoral rolls. The effect of the proposed amendments would be to secure the provision of a uniform local government franchise throughout the United Kingdom for men and women, married and single. As the Local Government Society includes several prominent Anti-Suffragists, it is to be hoped that this campaign will open their eyes to the absurdity of trying to separate the political and the municipal functions of women citizens on the ground that "men are men and women are women."

Lord Haldane and Education

The Lord Chancellor, speaking at the Manchester Reform Club on January 10, said that the next great social problem to be faced by the Government would be that of education. Either Lord Haldane is more hopeful than we are and thinks that women will be enfranchised under the Reform Bill, or, as is more probable, he considers that education is a subject that can be satisfactorily dealt with by men without the help of women. It is difficult to find words in which to express our indignation at this suggestion that the whole educational system of the country is going to be re-organised before the mothers of the race are given the right to have a voice in the matter. The next great problem that faces the Government, we would remind Lord Haldane, is the enfranchisement of the mother half of the race. Until that is accomplished, any threatened legislation dealing with the child is to women both an insult and a danger.

Items of Interest

The current issue of the *Christian Commonwealth* contains a great deal of interesting matter with regard to Woman Suffrage; among messages from important men and women is one from Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, the distinguished scientist, which should command careful attention.

As we go to press we learn that the charge against a Portmadoc labourer for assaulting Miss Jordan on the occasion of Mr. Lloyd George's visit to Llanystumdwy, last September, has been dismissed. We are still without particulars, but unless the Bench had better reasons for their decision than that in the similar case of assault which was dismissed on November 20 we shall be tempted to think "I believe Lloyd George" is becoming the new credo in a certain part of Wales, and that ordinary morality has to fit in as best it can with the dictates of this religion.

THE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

After a short spell of rest, we who are Members of a Fellowship of service in the Woman's Movement return again to the life of strenuous activity, filled with fresh energy, courage, and hope. The time is full of portent. During the coming three weeks the struggle for the great ideas of human liberty and human equality will be fought out in the Parliamentary arena. The immediate issues of that battle are beyond our own control. Whatever they may be, we shall go forward with the standard of freedom, thrice sacred by all we have vowed and sacrificed and dared.

How many times recently have not the old familiar words rung in our ears, "A Happy New Year"? What is happiness and where is it to be obtained? The supreme joy of existence is to be found in the vision of a great ideal and in the concentration of desire, energy, and life upon its achievement. Upon all who are united in service to the Woman's Movement has this vision dawned; to all has the call for action been given, and to all will the year 1913 bring its heritage of joy triumphant over sacrifice and pain.

There are thousands of women who have not yet realised that this happiness is for them. They have been vaguely touched by the spirit of this Movement, which is now felt far and wide. But it has not occurred to them that each and every one has a part to play and a task to perform. It may be that they are isolated in villages and hamlets; it may be that they are straining every nerve in the effort to gain their livelihood. It may be that they are prevented by domestic ties and stringent duties from devoting themselves to any organised work on behalf of any specific society.

These are the women we want to enrol in our Fellowship. Whether they are attached to any society or not, we invite them to join us. For there is a place for the most isolated, the most hampered, the most burdened, and the most busy in our ranks. We have room for every individual, and a niche for every kind of individual effort, whether it is continuous or intermittent. A member of the Votes for Women Fellowship plays her part if she (or he) can do no more than buy the Paper every week, with the purpose of reading it carefully.

There are very few who cannot do one bit more and pass on the Paper when read to a neighbour or a friend. It would not be so very hard even for the loneliest or the busiest to find a new subscriber to the Paper, and enrol another member in the Fellowship. None are too old or too young, too feeble, too harassed, or too engrossed to belong to us. Each one and all together can help to build up a Fellowship, thousands strong, which will be a great and potent influence in the evolution of thought and feeling in the country, making the way smoother for the fighters of the Movement who are free to devote to it great gifts of time and genius and personal sacrifice.

Every week letters are bringing in the good news of services small and great that are being rendered throughout the country. One keen worker, who gathered in many recruits during the last two months of the old year, presents us with twelve new members for 1913. She says the work is easy and delightful. Her life is enriched by a growing circle of friendship. This is work in which hundreds more could share without breaking the necessary routine of the daily existence.

Two special services can be rendered by members of the Votes for Women Fellowship at the present time. In the first place, in view of the exceptional interest which is being taken in the question of Woman's Suffrage, owing to the imminence of the Franchise Bill, a special opportunity is provided for obtaining new readers. Subscription forms will be sent by the Publisher, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., to any asking for them, and these, when filled in, should be returned to him, together with the amount of the subscription for six months (3s. 3d. in the United Kingdom, 4s. 4d. abroad) or one year (6s. 6d. or 8s. 8d.). Alternatively the paper may be ordered from the local newsagent. In the second place, members living in provincial towns or in suburbs of the metropolis are invited to co-operate in a special scheme of shop inspection. Any who are willing to undertake this work are invited to write direct to Mr. Pethick Lawrence, at the Votes for Women Office, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

We "Fellows" must keep in close touch with one another, week by week encouraging each other with the story of our successes, remembering the old proverb, "Many a mickle makes a muckle"; week by week handing on suggestions and ideas of new ways of serving our great Movement by individual endeavour, so essential to the triumph of all organised and extensive campaigning. May 1913 see the widespread growth of the Votes for Women Fellowship, not only in this country, but all over the world, a Fellowship that will be a source of strength to the Woman's Movement when the Vote is won.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To January 14th, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	114	11	3
Miss M. C. Hunt	0	1	8
Dr. Jones	0	10	6
Mrs. L. A. Willson	0	10	6
Miss D. Le Lacheur	0	10	0
Mrs. Podmore	0	1	6
Half-profits on Bournemouth Meeting	1	13	0
Miss M. S. Murray	0	2	6
Miss V. N. Fisher	0	5	0
Miss J. Rose	0	5	0
Miss F. Jenkins	0	2	6
"E. M. W."	0	10	6
per Mrs. Saul Solomon	12	12	10
Mrs. Anderson	0	11	8
Mr. and Mrs. Waddel	0	5	0
The Misses Waddel	0	3	0
Miss M. Crerar	0	10	0
"Philippa"	0	1	0
Mrs. J. J. Miles	0	12	6
Miss Cicely Wroughton	1	0	0
per Miss E. Gorrie	3	0	0
Miss M. Balchin	0	2	6
Miss M. Webber	0	1	6
Mrs. E. Thomas	0	1	0
Extra on Votes for Women	0	0	8
Miss Sarah Benett	0	10	0
Mrs. A. W. Giveen	0	2	0
Miss Sybil Murray	0	5	0
Extra on Votes (Leeds)	0	8	0
Mrs. Bouvier	0	1	6
Total	133	12	1

THE FRANCHISE BILL

On the Eve of the Committee Stage—Women's Amendments to Come First—What Chance have They?

Like a cloud which began no larger than a woman's hand and grew in size until it overshadowed the whole sky, the Woman Suffrage amendments to the Government's Franchise Bill have by this time thrown into insignificance the whole of the Bill itself. With the exception of a certain amount of controversy aroused by Mr. Pease's proposed amendment to eliminate the occupation franchise, discussion on the Bill has resolved itself in the Lobby, in the Press, and in political circles generally into a discussion of the women's amendments—that portion of the Reform proposals, in fact, which has been expressly excluded from the Bill. We are reminded of the story of the schoolboy who, interrogated with regard to the salt in the potatoes, defined the salt as "the part of the potato which makes the potato so nasty when it isn't there."

Interest has centred this week in the disclosures made by the *Daily Herald* Special Commissioner, who has not only revealed the Cabinet intrigue to wreck the amendments, but has succeeded in arousing universal condemnation of its instigators. The *Daily Citizen* has a strong leading article on the matter; the *Nation* and the *Daily News* also allude to it in leading articles, in which they deal with the whole question. We print extracts from these, also from many other communications which have appeared in the Press during the past week. The *Christian Commonwealth* of January 15 deals also very fully and interestingly with the "woman suffrage crisis." An event of importance connected with the Woman Suffrage "opportunity" is the working women's deputation which is now to be received by Mr. Lloyd George on January 23 (see page 232).

As we go to press, the most probable date for the commencement of the Committee stage of the Bill appears to be Friday, January 24.

The Time Table

If, as seems probable, the Welsh Church Bill will occupy the time of the House until Wednesday, January 22, the Franchise Bill will enter upon its Committee Stage on Thursday or Friday, January 23 or 24. The *Times* Parliamentary correspondent appears to think that the time-table will be taken on Thursday, and Sir Edward Grey's amendment on Friday. The *Daily Herald* Special Commissioner, however, predicted last Wednesday that Monday, January 27, will be the date for the commencement of the Committee Stage. The prevailing opinion in the lobby, in which both the *Times* and the *Morning Post* concur, is that a day and a half will be allotted for the discussion of the amendment to delete the word "male," and that half-a-day will be allotted to each of the three remaining Woman Suffrage amendments. The *Standard* thinks three and a half days will be allotted altogether, thus giving two days in the following week to the discussion of the three amendments. The political correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* discusses the time-table, which he says involves "an important innovation in Parliamentary procedure," as follows:—

Obviously in the present state of the session a time-table must be drawn up for the Franchise Bill. Now the common form of time-table is one which allots a certain period of debate for each clause of the bill, and, consequently, unless there is some agreement informally between the parties one amendment is apt to occupy the whole time given to the clause on which it is moved, and other amendments on the same clause have little or no chance of discussion. In the case of the Franchise Bill this would mean (putting the Grey amendment on one side for the moment) that of the three amendments in detail—i.e., the adult suffrage amendment, the Dickinson, and the Conciliation amendment—only the first in all probability could be discussed, and the other two could hope for no more than divisions without discussions, or possibly not even that. This would obviously be very unfair, and it is very likely that to obviate the unfairness the Government will create a new precedent, and put on the paper a special time-table resolution for the suffrage discussions allocating time by amendment and not by clause. This would appear to mean two time-tables for the Franchise Bill.

In the "Daily Herald"

Through its Special Commissioner, the *Daily Herald* has continued throughout the week to keep its readers in touch with the political position of the Bill and the Woman Suffrage amendments. After revealing in detail the Government plot to defeat the amendments (which was foreshadowed more than a year ago in our columns) the *Daily Herald*, on January 10, challenged the Prime Minister to put an end "by a few plain words" to the "backstairs intrigue," by which his followers in the House of Commons were to be "robbed of that opportunity for free and unfettered decision which, in public, he so solemnly promised them, and as to which he has reiterated that promise again and again."

The Special Commissioner, on the same date, also called upon all Labour and Socialist bodies throughout the country "to urge upon Mr. Redmond the mistake that he will make if he under-estimates the feeling which will be aroused if the Irish Party, which has so long and so gallantly fought for the emancipation of their country, should deliberately kill the opportunity which is now being opened to women to secure at last the emancipation of their sex."

The Premier's Honour

On January 11, he announced that: "The most significant news to my hand to-day is that the *Daily Herald* exposures have gone a long way to stop the rot which had set in among the Suffragist Liberal and Radical Members of Parliament," and went on to say that "an even more formidable problem" existed in the opposition of the Nationalists, which "one word from the Premier" to Mr. Redmond would be sufficient to dispel. But "will that word be spoken? If the Premier consults his honour, it will be. But will the Premier so consult his honour? If my information be correct he will not."

On January 14, the Special Commissioner wrote as follows:—"So far as the Government's calculations are concerned, I understand that they are satisfied that they have the amendments thoroughly well beaten, owing to the division of Suffragist forces in the House.

"Now although they have certainly left no stone unturned to secure this, their calculations may prove to be out for once. I believe that I shall shortly be in possession of some important information bearing on this point. However, I am bound to admit that it is touch and go."

Chances For and Against

After recapitulating the chances for and against each of the amendments, the writer added:—"I think I have said enough to warn all those interested in this matter not to take anything for granted, but to leave no stone unturned to bring pressure to bear both upon their own M.P. and upon the Irish party, particularly upon the latter, for your own M.P. has one vote, which is well worth influencing, but Mr. Redmond has 85 votes, which are 85 times as much worth influencing."

On January 15 the Special Commissioner made the important announcement that "so far as the body of Liberal Members are concerned the *Daily Herald* has blown the Cabinet conspiracy sky-high," and, further, that—

"Mr. Asquith has assured his friends that he will not resign over the carriage of a Woman's Suffrage amendment to the Franchise Bill; that he honestly desires every one of his followers to be as free and untrammelled in their votes on this question as his pledges have indicated; and that the Cabinet will loyally accept and endeavour to carry into legislative effect the decisions of the House in this matter."

From this the writer concludes that "No one is going to resign from the Cabinet over the Women's Amendments. There is going to be no break-up of the Government if women have to be included in the Franchise Bill," and ends by making a fresh appeal for Labour pressure to be brought to bear upon Mr. Redmond in order to assure him that the prospects of Home Rule will be seriously damaged if he repeats his anti-suffragist tactics of last year.

A "Middle Party" Foreshadowed

From the same pen we have the interesting conjecture that a great "middle party" of Suffragists is in process of formation in the country, and "should the House of Commons once more cheat the women of their hopes, then the powerful means at the disposal of this new movement will be turned into one channel alone, perhaps with almost startling effect. Whilst thousands of women would no doubt stampede to the militant movement, thousands of others would sever their connection with Liberal, Unionist or Labour organisations, and enrol themselves in the new middle party." (This refers of course to the new Suffrage Federation which we describe on page 228.)

There is no doubt that it is largely owing to the support of the *Daily Herald* that the working women's deputation (with which we deal on page 232), will be received by Mr. Lloyd George on January 23.

From "The Nation," January 11

"There are Members of Parliament who only have a mild academic interest in the question, there are others who will wait to see how the land lies and make their decision at the last moment, and there are several who, if they are persuaded at the time that the inclusion of women will embarrass the Government and endanger the other great measures that are passing through the House of Commons, will either abstain or possibly give an adverse vote. These last have also to take into account the very serious consequences that will follow if all the amendments to include women are rejected; and not a few are inclined to believe that this is a unique opportunity for settling a vexed question, the suspension of which must continue to be infinitely embarrassing to the Administration in power. The consideration that the loss of the women's amendments will probably mean the dropping of the greater part of the Bill, and the curtailment, therefore, of a well-nigh interminable session, may also weigh with a few. . . . As for the Irish vote, it would be rash to make any calculation. . . But the danger to Home Rule would be very much greater if the Irish as a party were to decide on a hostile attitude to the women. Such action would produce deep resentment in many quarters, and it may be safely said that Mr. Redmond's pledge to leave his party free and unfettered will be strictly maintained. But there may be many abstentions, and, indeed, were it decided that the Nationalist party as a whole should abstain on the understanding that Ireland was not to be included in the Bill but should decide the matter for herself in the future, it would relieve the situation of one of its most complicated factors, and at the same time give relief to Irishmen who may feel that they will be blamed, whichever way the decision goes.

"The Misty Atmosphere of Rumour"

"But, amid all the tangle of opposing tactics, in the misty atmosphere of rumour and suspicion, with all the confusion and misgiving caused by the discovery of an anti-government motive concealed in a suffrage vote, and a pro-government motive cloaked in an anti-suffrage vote, it will be well for Liberal Members to bear one or two considerations strongly in mind. . . . No device has been suggested, or, so far as one can see, can be suggested, by which the women's cause could be given a better chance. Private Members' Bills are doomed to failure, and no conceivable Government can on their own initiative introduce a Bill to enfranchise women. There is a majority in favour of woman suffrage in the House of Commons, and, as the decision rests with the House of Commons without regard to party, no consideration should interfere with the House expressing its clear opinion on this occasion. If it fails, women will have every justification in declaring that they have once more been betrayed, and that the cause will for ever be sacrificed by the infirmity of purpose of Members of Parliament. To vote against the amendments from any motive except sincere conviction is to play the game of the extreme militants, who obviously desire the rejection of all the amendments in order that they may continue a disastrous agitation. Finally, it is safer, fairer, and more honest, as well as more politic, to vote straight for a principle than to indulge in uncertain calculations as to eventual consequences and possible contingencies, which may never arise."

An "Anti" M.P.

In an article appearing in the *Standard* on January 10, Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P., said:—

It is doubtful whether in the history of democratic institutions in this country the House of Commons has ever found itself in a more complicated, a more embarrassing, or a more humiliating situation than that in which it now finds itself with regard to Woman Suffrage. Here we have a question of absolutely fundamental constitutional importance, one which would revolutionise the ultimate basis of sovereignty in this country, upon which neither of the great political parties can make up its mind. . . . A profound state of uneasiness prevails among the rank and file of the Liberal supporters of Woman Suffrage with regard to the attempt to introduce it by way of amendment into the Franchise Bill. They have the feeling that they are being jockeyed. As good party men they see the folly of introducing into a measure on which their party is solidly united, and on which they believe it to have a mandate from the country, a quite different proposal, on which there are deep and fundamental differences in their party, and on which they have no mandate from the country.

Mr. Scott then enumerates four principal reasons which, in his opinion, would militate against the success of the Woman Suffrage amendment (from which, by the way, he expressly excludes militancy, "the Parliamentary effect" of which "has been greatly exaggerated"), concluding with the words:—

Taking all these considerations into account, the probability is that no Woman Suffrage amendment to the Franchise Bill will be carried. There is, I believe, a majority of the House of Commons against any of the three effective amendments which would give women the vote either on the widest or on the narrowest terms. There is, however, considerable uncertainty about the preliminary amendment to omit the word "male" which stands in the name of Sir Edward Grey. This amendment has been chosen with some astuteness inasmuch as it conveys an abstract declaration in favour of Woman Suffrage without committing its supporters to any particular method of giving votes to women, and it is therefore calculated to unite Suffragists who are irreconcilably opposed as to methods. If it is carried the House will then proceed to consider the particular methods on their merits. If it is defeated that will be an end of the matter so far as this Bill is concerned. There is, therefore, a possibility that this abstract declaration may be carried, but there is also a possibility that it may be defeated by the defection of a number of Liberal Suffragists who feel that the present is not the time, and this Bill is not the place, for giving votes to women, and who think that the most straightforward course is to negative it at the beginning.

AN IMPORTANT COMMUNICATION

A correspondent, "who has access to exceptional sources of information," sends an important communication to this week's *Christian Commonwealth*, from which we quote the following passages:—

"On the political side a very critical stage has now been reached in the Women's Suffrage movement. The situation is full of piquant possibilities, and dramatic developments may take place at any moment. A revelation of the wire-pulling, the moves and counter-moves, the threats and bargains of which St. Stephen's has been the centre during the past months would astonish the unsuspecting public, who do not know how to read between the lines of political speeches, and who take their opinions from the party organs. . . . The time has come for plain speaking. The one really formidable opponent of the women's cause is Mr. Asquith. He promised their cause a fair field in Parliament, but in this one matter the man whose word is supposed to be as good as his bond, and who is jealous of his reputation for religiously keeping his pledges, has broken faith. . . . What all the friends of Women Suffrage should now do is to seek to counteract the powerful intrigue which aims at defeating all the Women's Suffrage amendments to the Reform Bill. They have a formidable task before them, but if they will combine their forces and pull together success may yet be won, black as the prospect is at the moment. Though I am not hopeful of the result, Mr. Asquith should be appealed to on all sides to make a frank declaration—not of his personal opinions on Women's Suffrage; they are well known; but of his real attitude and intentions in regard to the proposals for the enfranchisement of women made in he House of Commons. . . . One final word. If the Reform Bill, or a Plural Voting Bill, be passed without any women being enfranchised, there will be a consolidation of the Suffrage hosts, and the united forces will acquire a momentum that will be absolutely irresistible. The patience of many Liberal women has nearly reached the breaking point. The fatal mistake—truly amazing in men of marked perspicacity in all other matters—made by Mr. Asquith and others is in thinking that a House of Commons majority against Women's Suffrage will settle the question. Some day they will learn their error. May it not be at too great a cost!"

FURTHER COMMENTS

In a special communication to the *Globe* on January 15, the writer, after recapitulating the story of Cabinet intrigues, adding that the Prime Minister has been supplied with a proof of these together with the names of the Ministers implicated, winds up by saying: "Whatever views we may hold as to Suffragette methods and demands, they certainly have a right to fair and honourable treatment."

The Suffrage battle is being fought with great vigour, and Parliament has a great opportunity to redress a deep wrong. It has been decided that there will be no more militancy until, at least, Parliament has decided the fate of the amendments. Anti-Suffragists who were counting on another raid at the very moment the amendments were being debated will be disappointed.

The Prime Minister has stated more than once that the question of Women's Suffrage is to be left to the unfettered and free judgment of the House of Commons. The letter of this promise is being kept, but with or without the knowledge and consent of the Premier the spirit of the pledge is being broken. Rumours are being spread—and they seem usually to be traced to anti-Suffragist members of the Cabinet—that if the women's amendments are carried the Prime Minister will resign, the Government be broken up, and all such measures as Home Rule be in danger of shipwreck. We do not believe there is any truth in these reports. The names of the members of the Cabinet who will speak and vote in support of the Franchise amendments are in themselves proof that the rumours are mere figments of a hostile imagination. But the Prime Minister owes it to himself, if he is to be entirely absolved from active or passive complicity in these rumours, to make a clear statement . . . and it will be much more valuable if made during the next few days.—**Daily Citizen, Jan. 15.**

When the present session opened, the Parliamentary situation was one which reflected little enough credit upon the Government. The opportunities which it dare not deny openly, it was prepared to see nullified by a shabby intrigue of the lobbies. . . . The Premier by one public word could at a stroke have ended the intrigue and cleared his own honour. This he did not choose to do, and his guilty silence will now ever remain a blot upon his name and upon that of his Administration.—**Daily Herald, Jan. 15.**

The main interest of the Bill will centre in the question of the extension of the vote to women. . . . In the circumstances it is to be hoped that the friends of the movement will concentrate on the middle course which is expressed in Mr. Dickinson's amendment. This goes a very long way towards the full recognition of the claims of the women, and it has not the disadvantage that is alleged against the conciliation scheme—the disadvantage, that is, that in its operation it is prejudicial to the working women. Happily the question of women's suffrage has of late passed into a more favourable atmosphere. Apart from the follies of a few women, it is no longer disturbed by militancy, and there is every hope that the House will approach it in an entirely dispassionate frame of mind. If that is done and all the friends of the movement work in sympathy there should be no reason to fear the result.—**Daily News, Jan. 10.**

TWO IMPORTANT LETTERS

London Graduates and the Bill

The following letter appeared in the Press last Monday:—

Sir,—In view of the Prime Minister's announcement that the Franchise Bill will be taken this month, we wish to make a brief statement on behalf of the London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage.

The Union includes men and women graduates of all shades of political thought. But it is unanimous in the conviction that legislation giving the vote to all adult men, and excluding from the Franchise every woman, however great her services to the State, would not only involve an extreme injustice but would be a national evil of the first magnitude. We have to face the fact that the Government of the day has introduced such a measure of manhood suffrage, notwithstanding the strong demand in the country for some measure of enfranchisement for women, a demand which has been supported by 144 borough councils and by all organised bodies of women workers. The only opportunity offered to women suffragists is the chance of passing an amendment. A large majority in the House of Commons is pledged to the principle of women's suffrage. In these circumstances, we urge them to set aside less important considerations, whereby it is sought to divide their forces, and to vote for any amendment which would enfranchise women. This is the only way to avert the worst outcome of the situation thus created—namely, the passing of a Manhood Suffrage Bill, whilst women are left entirely unrepresented.

In 1911 the claim of women graduates to share in the London University franchise was earnestly advocated in a memorial to the Prime Minister by 1,823 male members of Convocation. The particular franchise which they sought to extend to their fellow-graduates will be abolished by the Government Bill. But the fact that so many voters in an educated constituency recognise that sex should be no barrier where women have acquired the educational qualification on which that special franchise is based has encouraged the Union to look for a recognition by educated men in the House of Commons of the right of women as taxpayers, as persons subject to the laws, and as human beings who render essential services to the State to some voice in the determination of what taxation shall be imposed on them, what laws they shall be called upon to obey, and by what means the welfare of the nation can best be promoted through legislation.—Yours, &c.,

ALFRED CALDECOTT, D.Lit., President.
H. C. I. GWYNNE-VAUGHAN, D.Sc., Chairman of Committee.
MARIAN BUSK, B.Sc., Hon. Treasurer.

The following letter from Canon Wilson appeared in the Press last Tuesday:—

Sir,—Will you permit one who belongs to no party organisation to plead with members of the House of Commons, and with all who can influence the votes those members will give on the 20th?

It will cause disappointment amounting to despair of Parliament if members who know and have admitted that women's votes will tend to social justice and righteousness and national welfare are afraid of their principles and do not vote for Sir Edward Grey's amendment. Either the "Dickinson" or the "Conciliation" amendment will, I believe, satisfy for a long time the conscience of the nation, but a flat negative would insult that conscience. I believe that this conviction is widespread among silent voters like myself. All legislation, and in a peculiar degree the impending social legislation—Divorce and Poor Law, to mention two subjects only—profoundly concerns women. Is it just or reasonable for the nation, on the eve of entering such legislation, to refuse to women, whom it chiefly concerns and who possess special knowledge, an opportunity for influencing the national decision by their knowledge and their votes?

A NEW SUFFRAGIST FEDERATED COUNCIL

An important announcement was made last Tuesday of the formation of a new Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies. Miss H. A. Broadhurst (president of the National Political League), Mrs. Cecil Chapman, and Miss Holiday have for some time been endeavouring to promote unity of action among the numerous societies supporting the enfranchisement of women. The movement has resulted in nineteen organisations falling into line—the Actresses' Franchise League, the Women Writers' Suffrage League, the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, the Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, the Friends' League for Women's Suffrage, the Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, the Irish League for Women's Suffrage, the London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage, the Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, the New Constitutional Society, the Petersfield Women's Suffrage Society, the West Essex Women's Suffrage Society, the Women's Tax Resistance League, the Hastings and St. Leonards Women's Suffrage Society, the Conservative and Unionist Franchise Association, the National Political League, the Welsh Society for Women's Suffrage, and the Saffron Walden and District Women's Suffrage Society. Each of these organisations will be represented on the new Federated Council by voting members, and the Conservative and Unionist Franchise Association will send a deliberative delegation. The new Council will thus represent some thousands of non-militant suffragists. The officers of the new Council are:—President, Muriel, Countess De La Warr; chairman, Miss M. A. Broadhurst; hon. secretary, Miss Conolan; hon. treasurer, Dr. Adeline Roberts. The official address is that of the National Political League, 16, St. James's Street, London, S.W.

Objects of the Federation

The main object of the Federated Council will be to promote unity in the Suffrage movement. With this as its animating principle, a firm line of policy is about to be adopted which all the constituent societies will be able to follow. "A strong demand for a Government measure can now be foreshadowed," writes a Suffrage correspondent on the subject in the *Standard* (Woman's Platform) of January 15, "to be followed by a persistent line of action should the amendments to be moved to the Franchise Bill fail to pass." The same correspondent adds: "To strengthen its position, the Council has decided to admit members with deliberative but not voting power from the various organisations working for women, and also to admit on the same terms individuals who have shown themselves prominent and helpful in some special way and whose outlook on the whole question would therefore add to the breadth of view of the Council."

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A PIONEER

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—As a former member of the Committee of the National Society for Women Suffrage, and a worker on behalf of the Great Petition sent to the House of Commons twenty years ago (the writer having canvassed and sent up nearly 1,000 signatures to the quarter of a million to this House of Pretence on behalf of women's suffrage), and as a former member of the Women's Liberal Association for twenty-five years, I am, with many other women, awaiting anxiously the result of the Franchise Bill, as to whether it will or will not exclude all women. What will then happen? Will the members of these two above-named organisations turn "like the worm" when trampled upon, or gradually be extinguished through inaction?—I remain yours faithfully,

HELEN E. GOUDGE.

S. Hackney, N.E.

NEW NOVEL BY ELIZABETH ROBINS *

Miss Elizabeth Robins's new novel is an achievement. In books like "The Magnetic North" we know her for the artist she is; in "The Convent" she showed us what can be made of the novel that treats of a burning modern question. But in "Where are you going to . . . ?" she has done much more than this. She has knit together the two things, the artist in her, and the reformer; and she has kept the balance between them with a nicety of touch that only a sensitive master hand could accomplish. She has made her subject more than a burning one, this time; it is the one that underlies the vital question of the twentieth century, and it suffers, as vital questions sometimes do, from every disadvantage that can obstruct clear-thinking and sanity of mind in those who approach it. The White Slave Traffic has been cheapened in discussion as far as an intensely real issue can be cheapened, by all the sensational devices of a journalistic age, by the cinematograph and by the bookstall; and it has made its appeal in consequence almost as much to morbid curiosity as to flaming indignation. A writer might well hesitate before attempting to handle such a theme except in a tract or a melodrama; only a writer absolutely sure of her craft would have ventured to present it through the medium of a novel.

That is why this new book by Miss Robins is an achievement. It is another step in the development of the novel; for it proves what has been so often denied, that a novel with a purpose can be placed in the front rank as a work of art. "Where are you going to . . . ?" is a fine piece of work apart from its purpose, though its craftsmanship is so perfect that it cannot as a piece of work be separated from its purpose. The purpose is there in every line of the book, so subtly treated that it is possible to read quite three-fourths of the story without having a suspicion of the kind of tragedy that is to come. For all that, the climax is being prepared in every little incident recorded of the two girls in their sheltered country home who are the victims of tragedy; for Miss Robins has placed her terrible indictment of society, not where economic pressure is most obvious, in the home of the sweated woman worker, but where it is cloaked by a romantic vision of chivalry and protection, in the home of the carefully guarded young girl, where ignorance is encouraged as innocence, and chaperonage is considered to spell safety. In this way she pierces straight to the root of the matter, to the perverted relations between men and women that have made the White Slave Traffic possible, and made it a thing that knows no class and no boundary. There is not a hint of propaganda, from the first page to the last of "Where are you going to . . . ?" But it should be given to every man or woman who wonders why women think it worth while to go to prison for the sake of their enfranchisement.

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* "Where are You Going To?" By Elizabeth Robins. (London: Heinemann. 6s.)

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A GENUINE FARCE

"General John Regan" at the Apollo Theatre

In these strenuous days it is a real relaxation to see a genuine farce, and Mr. George A. Birmingham's play, which was produced last week at the Apollo Theatre, keeps an entire audience in a condition of helpless laughter throughout three acts of delightful fooling. It does not matter whether you are Unionist or Nationalist, Catholic or Protestant, English or Irish—Mr. Birmingham's satire does not spare one of these different elements of which his nation is composed, but sees the humorous side of them all equally. The Catholic priest, the Resident Magistrate's wife, the Irish hotel keeper, the local landlord, the Nationalist editor, the Lord Lieutenant's aide-de-camp—they are all in his play, each one presented to the life, and not one of them with malice. For there is no malice in George A. Birmingham's pen; there is only that exquisite and rare humour which enables every character in the play to score off all the others as he would they should score off him. No other method could with safety or fairness be applied to a country holding the peculiar and sensitive position that is occupied by Ireland in its relations to England; and no one but an Irishman could hope to apply it there with success. Mr. Birmingham's brilliant success should be particularly pleasing to Suffragists, as he is one of those few Irishmen whose desire for Home Rule has not blinded him to the struggle for freedom that is also going on among women. The play is admirably acted; Mr. Charles Hawtrey's performance as the dispensary doctor being a finished piece of work. It would be true to say that in the whole of the cast there is not a single "stage" Irishman or woman; but that is probably as great a tribute to the dramatist as to the performers.

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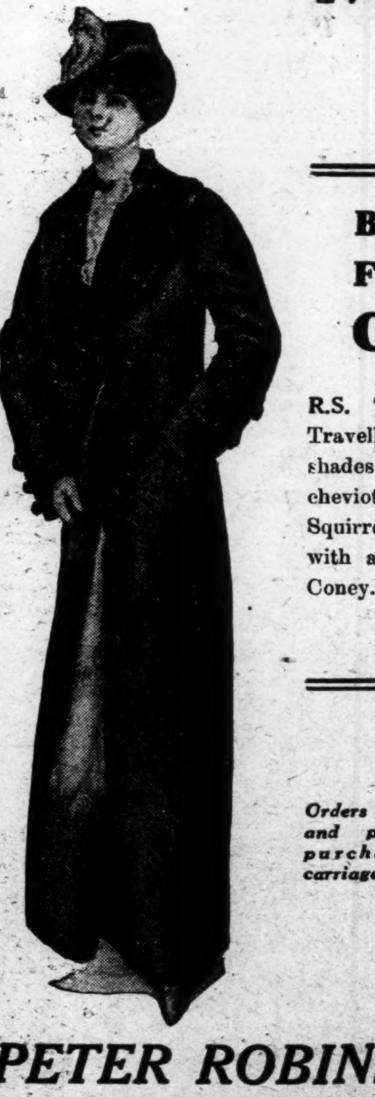

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THE ANTIGONE OF SOPHOCLES

(From Whitelaw's translation, slightly adapted by Ethel M. Richardson, B.A., in consequence of a return to the study of Greek literature, as advised by an Anti-Suffragist correspondent in a morning paper.)

Sentinel : I bring you . . .
This maiden whom busied about the *pillar-boxes*
We captured.
Creon : Where, on what manner was your captive taken ?
Sentinel : *Spoiling the letters*, we took her : all is told.
Creon (*to Antigone*) : Speak thou, who bendest on the earth thy gaze.
Are these things which are witnessed true or false ?
Antigone : Not false, but true ; that which he saw, he speaks
Creon : Tell me, thou—and let thy speech be brief—
The edict hadst those heard, which this forbade ?
Antigone : I could not choose but hear what all men heard.
Creon : And didst thou dare to disobey the law ?
Antigone : Nowise from Zeus, methought, this edict came,
Nor did I deem thine edicts of such force
That they, a mortal's bidding, should o'erride
Unwritten laws eternal in the heavens.
Senseless I seem to thee, so doing ? Belike
A senseless judgment finds me void of sense.
Creon : Was't not enough
My promulgated laws to have transgressed,
But having done it, face to face with me
She boasts of this and glories in the deed ?
I surely am the woman, she the man,
If she defies my power and I submit.
This is hateful when the guilty one,
Detected, thinks to glorify his fault.
Antigone : This from every voice should win
Approval, might but fear men's lips unseal.
Creon : All Thebes sees this with other eyes than thine.
Antigone : They see as I, but bate their breath to thee.
Creon : And art thou not ashamed from them to differ ?
Antigone : To *fight for one's own sister* is not shameful.
Creon : No woman while I live shall master me. . .

* * * * * * * * *

We must defend
The government and order of the State,
And not be governed by a wilful girl.
We'll yield our place up, if we must, to men ;
To women that we stooped, shall not be said.

The following passage, also taken from the Antigone, might be called "A Dialogue between Ismene, the Constitutionalist, and Antigone, the Militant."

Ismene : . . . Let us think, 'tis not for us,
Who are but women, to contend with men :
The ruler's word is mighty, and to this,
And harsher words than this, we needs must bow.
Therefore will I . . .
Obey the King's commandment ; for with things
Beyond our reach 'twere foolishness to meddle.
Antigone : I'll neither urge thee, nor, if now thou'dst help
My doing, should I thank thee for thine aid.
Do thou after thy kind : thy choice is made.
Others have I to please than these on earth.
Be it thine
To have scorned what gods have hallowed, if thou wilt.
Ismene : Nay, nothing do I scorn : but how to break
My country's law—I am witless of the way.
Antigone : Be this thy better part : I go. . . .
Ismene : Alas, unhappy, how I fear for thee !
Antigone : Fear not for me : guide thine own fate aright.
Ismene : Yet breathe this purpose to no ear but mine ;
Keep thou thy counsel well—and so will I.
Antigone : Oh, speak : for much more hatred wilt thou get
Concealing, than proclaiming it to all.
Ismene : This fever at thy heart by frost is fed.
Antigone : But whom I most should please, they most are pleased.
Ismene : So would'st : but thou canst not as thou would'st
Antigone : Why, then, when my strength fails, I shall have done.
Ismene : Not to attempt the impossible is best.
Antigone : Then leave me and the folly that is mine,
The worst to suffer—not the worst—since still
A worse remains, an ignoble death to die.

◆

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Knave of Diamonds." By Ethel M. Dell. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. Price 6s.)

"King Errant." By Flora Annie Steel. (London: Heinemann. Price 6s.)

"Carmen Sylva." By Pierre Loti. (London: Macmillan. Price 4s. 6d. net.)

"The Trial of Jeanne D'Arc." By Edward Garnett. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"Twentieth Century Magazine." December. (Boston: Twentieth Century Co. Price 15 cents.)

"The Christian Powers and Weaker Races." By Ven. Archdeacon Potter, M.A., F.R.G.S. (London: Banks and Son. Price 6d. net.)

"The Insurance Magazine." January. (London: Vernon House, Sicilian Avenue, Southampton Row. Price 3d.)

"Wards of the State." By Tighe Hopkins. (London: Herbert and Daniel. Price 10s. 6d. net.)

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The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed. MSS. should, if possible, be typewritten.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEMONSTRATION

TRAFALGAR SQUARE,

Saturday, January 18th,

at 2.30 p.m.

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Taxation without Representation is Tyranny,

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FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1913.

WAITING TO LOOK FOOLISH

> "The only thing I would say now is this—and I say it after twenty-one years experience of Parliament—Don't you commit yourselves too readily to the statement that this is a trick upon woman suffrage. If you find next year, as a result of this "trick," that several millions of women have been added in a Bill to the franchise, that this Bill has been sent to the House of Lords by the Government, and that the Government stand by that Bill, whatever the Lords do, then those who have committed themselves to that ill-conditioned suggestion will look very foolish."
>
> *Mr. Lloyd George at Downing Street, November 17, 1911, to a deputation of women.*

> "Now that the Conciliation Bill has been torpedoed, the way is clear for a broad and democratic amendment of the suffrage for women . . . for the insertion in the Government Bill of an amendment which will enfranchise not a limited class of women chosen just to suit the Tory canvasser, but which will include the working-man's wife."
>
> *Mr. Lloyd George at Bath, November 24, 1911.*

It is fourteen months since the speeches, from which the above extracts are taken, were made by Mr. Lloyd George. The period of waiting has now passed by; the time has come when the expectations which he aroused among women by them must be fulfilled.

In order to understand the meaning of his words we must cast our minds back over the intervening period and recollect what had been the situation before they were uttered. In the spring of 1911, the Conciliation Bill—a measure to give the vote to women householders—had passed its second reading in the House of Commons by the enormous majority of 167 votes (255 to 88), and Mr. Asquith had given a solemn promise on behalf of the Government that facilities should be given for its further stages in the year 1912. There was at that time no talk of a Government Franchise Bill to extend the male suffrage, and the electorate consisted, so far as 90 per cent. were concerned, of male householders, and as to the remaining 10 per cent., of male owners, occupiers, lodgers, and University graduates. The Conciliation Bill was accordingly an attempt to create practical equality between men and women by removing the sex barrier for the franchise from the principal qualification of householders, while still excluding (in deference to the wishes of Liberal Members of Parliament) the few women possessing the other, subsidiary, qualifications. It had been estimated that about eight million men were already on the register, and that whereas absolute equality would have enfranchised about 1¼ million women, the Conciliation Bill would have given the vote to about a million.

In view of the moderate and democratic character of this proposal, the unanimity with which it was endorsed by the woman suffrage societies, the vast majority which it commanded in the House of Commons, the support which it had received from nearly all the principal municipalities, and the favour with which it was regarded in the country generally, it seemed not unnatural to suppose that it would without difficulty find its way to the Statute Book during the session of 1912. It was true that Mr. Lloyd George threatened to destroy the compromise on which the Bill was based by moving widening amendments; but this danger was not regarded as serious owing to the large number of promises obtained from M.P.'s of all parties to vote for the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill. These expectations of success were, however, rudely shattered on November 7, when Mr. Asquith, with the full support and approval of Mr. Lloyd George, announced the intention of the Government to introduce in the following session a Bill to revolutionise the male franchise, abolishing the existing qualifications, and substituting in their place a system which practically amounted to manhood suffrage.

The effect of this announcement was, as Mr. Lloyd George subsequently stated at Bath, to "torpedo" the Conciliation Bill, for that measure, instead of establishing practical equality between the sexes as would previously have been the case, would now, in conjunction with the Manhood Suffrage Bill, stereotype a franchise for women entirely inferior to that to be accorded to men. In order to compensate for the injury to the Conciliation Bill, Mr. Asquith accordingly announced that the Government's Franchise Bill would be open to a woman suffrage amendment, that on such an amendment the Government as a Government would remain neutral, and that if it were carried by a free vote in the House of Commons the Government would regard it as an integral part of the Bill.

This procedure we at once denounced as a "trick," pointing out that on a Government Bill there were many ways in which a nominally "free" vote might be manipulated, in particular that the Irish Party could easily be prevailed upon to vote solid against it, and that by the simple expedient of wide and narrow amendments suffragist M.P.'s could be divided into different and even opposing camps. It was in reference to these prophecies of ours that Mr. Lloyd George made the remarks which we have printed at the head of this article, in which he warned us against looking foolish, in the event of several millions of women being placed on the register.

On Monday next, Mr. Lloyd George is to receive in audience a deputation of working women come to claim the fulfilment of his promise. Will he repeat on that day his prognostication of fourteen months ago? Still more, will he "make good" in the House of Commons on the following days when the Franchise Bill comes up for discussion? If so, we shall not grudge him his triumph. But if not, he will not lightly escape the condemnation of ourselves or of the women of the country. Mr. Lloyd George is no hairbrained politician who meddles in machinery which he does not understand; he is one of the most astute of living Parliamentarians who must be supposed to have fully intended the consequences of his actions. It was no light step for him, in conjunction with Mr. Asquith, deliberately to break up the compromise of 1911 and to torpedo the Conciliation Bill by which women were to have won the vote in 1912; particularly as this was done in the teeth of stringent criticism from those who had brought the cause to its then promising condition. If this procedure should result in the indefinite postponement of woman suffrage, it will not be open to him to plead his "hope" or his "desire" or his "expectation" that a larger number of women would ultimately find their way on to the register. He will be branded as one who, not daring to oppose woman suffrage openly, elected to employ crooked means to attain his end.

THE MATERNAL SPIRIT

By Christopher St. John

On Saturday Mr. Basil Macdonald Hastings's play, "The Tide," was played for the last time at the Queen's Theatre, and Miss Ethel Warwick's season, courageous in promise, not conspicuously successful in performance, came to an end.

"The Tide" has gone out; it is not likely to come in again; it is the more necessary to transfix an impression of it which has some bearing on the "woman question." Woman has changed with the times. She used to be a romantic riddle; now she is a practical question. She herself insists on being answered. Useless to tell her how much more alluring she was as a mystery, an inconsequent, inexplicable enigma, not to be explained by ordinary researches into human nature. It is on her human nature that she now obstinately prides herself. She claims to be "man," not masculine man, but "man" in the sense in which our remote precursors used the word, the man of mankind, the "man" to whom the Son of Man came to bring redemption.

What has this to do with "The Tide"? What was "The Tide"? It was a poor play by a very clever man. It was a poor play because it was ill-considered, indiscreet, hastily written; because it had the journalist's touch. Often the characters, who were not journalists, talked about things in which journalists alone are interested. Yet the brilliant, original, and feeling mind of the author occasionally shone through his newspaper skin. Will he shed that skin before he gives us another play? I wonder.

The clever, irritating piece is dead. I cannot say that it deserved a longer life. A play cannot exist on an audaciously skilful opening, and one scene of marvellous intensity. Of both of these "The Tide" could boast. You remember the scene, of course. It was that in which an elderly woman, threatened with the prospect of having to give up her adopted child to its real mother, gives that real mother a narrative of how what is known as woman's "primal instinct" had waked in her, obsessed her, how she had taken dolls to her heart when her barrenness became unendurable, and given them the names that she would have liked to have given her own flesh and blood. "They had their own chairs, too." "People thought I was odd, of course. Oh, I knew it." Words, or such words—I do not pretend that I quote them correctly—that were beautiful from the lips of Cicely Hamilton. Did the actress give us something in this scene of which the author never dreamed? Or did the author dream of such an interpreter—of that queer, tight, beautiful, ugly voice, of that face illumined by something akin to madness, of that irresistible *sincerity*, which is so beautiful in the theatre, that it immediately *kills* everything that is put beside it? I believed in that woman; I believed in those dolls. I thought that Cicely Hamilton, who is not exactly a postcard beauty, looked beautiful when she was telling of her hunger for maternity

Since then I have been thinking. Had the woman —I cannot remember her name—become unbalanced through her desire for children, or was it because she was unbalanced that she desired them?

The question arising out of this question is by no means answered by the familiar old stock phrases, "maternal instinct," "woman's highest mission, wife and mother," "woman's barrenness unnatural," "every woman ought to be a mother," "the most beautiful sight in creation, a mother nursing her child." When we approach an old, old story, we should always clear our minds of cant. When we do so, however, we run the risk of being accused of being abnormal, or worse, sacrilegious. "You see! Suffragettes sneer at maternity." Although an imposing number of Suffragettes are mothers! "You see! Suffragettes want to bring family life into contempt." Although family life *has* been brought into contempt by the very denial of the "mankind" of woman which Suffragettes will not admit to be a natural or just denial.

However, if we are going to conjure up misconstruction, and be timid about it, we shall never clear our minds of cant. We must just do it, and stick fast to our own ideals of maternity and the family, and the natural woman.

Whether Mr. Macdonald Hastings thinks that all women take to drugs or dolls if they are denied children, or are separated from those they have, it is impossible to say. Both the maternal women in his play are queer creatures—and he is a good enough dramatist not to make his characters talk nothing but Hastings. But I am fairly confident that most men think that a woman who is a woman, and not a freak, is naturally endowed with "maternal hunger."

There is a great virtue, apparently, in a quality or desire which is "natural." Apart from the question whether all women have an instinct for maternity (in the literal and definite sense), should it rule their lives merely because it is "natural"? We all know that if we live in obedience to natural instincts we come to hopeless grief, because our natural instincts are our animal instincts, and man is only half an animal. He has the misfortune, or the glory, according to the point of view, to possess a soul. This plain fact, which becomes only plainer and plainer as science pries further into the secret of life, confuses every issue, and enfeebles every assertion made by the materialist.

Let me come out into the open and say at once that it is very materialistic to hold that all women fulfil their destiny by becoming mothers. They would, if they were merely "the female of the male." But they are not. They are souls as well as women. They were created, as men were created, to serve God. Do you dispute this? I am not going to preach a sermon, but I think all definitions of the business of mankind in this universe amount to the one that I have given, and given perhaps with a bluntness which will offend the taste of people who never mention their Creator, except in anger or in jest.

To become a mother is merely the act of an animal. To have a vocation for motherhood is a beautiful and sacred thing, although it by no means implies perfect happiness. No mortal vocation can be followed without suffering. My point is that all women are not called to be mothers, and that when with their natural senses they hunger for natural maternity, the animal in them is getting the uppermost. Supernaturally all women may be, ought to be, mothers. I think that it is a maternal love for the whole human race which is making women fight and suffer for the cause of Woman's Suffrage. It is maternal love for sinners which often inspires women to become nuns. There is a maternity of the soul as well as of the body. If we could only stop talking about the "unnatural" lives of childless women! In many cases such a life is supernatural. A woman is forbidden to be a mother after the flesh in order that she may be a mother after the spirit. I know many such mothers. They are the noblest of women. They may not "carry on the race," but they help to make it worth carrying on!

A WOMAN'S DEPUTATION THAT WAS RECEIVED IN 1641*

By Frederick Browning

There seem still to be a large number of people who cannot conceive of the high-spirited movement of the women of England to-day for their emancipation as anything but an event totally new, an outcome only of the nineteenth century, something not in any way connected with Parliament or with any body of the community from whom Parliament has ever received any support. Yet it is only some two centuries since the Parliament of England first began to assert itself as having rights entirely independent of the Crown; only two hundred and fifty years since Parliament and Crown were involved in a fierce and warlike struggle, the one for freedom, the other for the former's total suppression. And it can be shown that women were then of value to the Parliamentarian cause, and that, on one occasion, they even weighted the scale and caused the balance to come down on the side of the Parliament, when possibly their failure to do so would have meant the defeat of the Commons.

It was during the troublous years preceding the great Civil War. The King, all the time resolving to keep no promises that he made when powerless to resist, or when he had some end to gain, had apparently given way to all the demands of the Commons. The Lords had accepted his promises; the people were inclined to do the same, and to demand that the question should be settled and the King reinstated in his position.

But the leaders of the Commons, Hampden, Pym, Kimbolton, and Essex, knew from reliable sources that Charles had not the slightest intention of keeping his word, and that to ensure both the safety of their persons and the liberties of England they must prosecute the struggle. To be able to do this they knew they must have public opinion behind them. The liberties they were fighting for were all contained in Magna Charta; they were equally contained in the King's promises; these two guarantees, however, afforded them no security. The only security worth having was the pressure they could bring to bear upon the King by means of public opinion. This public support was theirs as long as the King openly refused reforms, and the people felt the need of them. Now that he had apparently given way, public opinion began to desert the Parliamentarians; and the people, under the soothing influence of his promises, began to accuse their leaders of being ungrateful, of fighting for their own ends, of losing sight of the cause they had originally at heart. Thus are the Suffrage forces of all the ages split up by the Anti-Suffragist trickery of pretended friends!

Nothing could save the situation but some public demonstration of confidence in the Commons, who were unable to produce their proofs of the King's duplicity. It was from women they obtained this urgently needed support.

Assembled in their old place of session at Westminster, the leaders of the revolutionary party were calmly, though unhappily, recapitulating the few petitions and evidences of support they had received in favour of continuing the struggle. And then, suddenly, Skippon, a man austere and pure, well versed in the wars of the Continent, whom the Commons had appointed their general of the guard, appeared.

"There be," said he, "awaiting at your doors as many women as mine eyes together have ever seen, who demand an entry, to word to you their petition, praying that your honourable Houses may energetically prosecute the objects and the aims your honourable members and lordships have so long held at heart." And then, upon his returning to the women with an attempt, perhaps, to get them to depart—"Let us be heard," cried they; "for one woman that's here to-day there will be five hundred to-morrow."

And then, to show that women were made of exactly the same fibre as their militant descendants are to-day, once more they came with a petition, borne in the hands of one Annie Stag, the wife of a person of considerable wealth, the words of which might be profitably studied by many anti-militants of to-day:

> It may be thought strange and unbeseeming to our sex to show ourselves by way of petition to this Honourable Assembly. But the matter being rightly considered of . . . it will be found a duty commanded and required. (1) Because Christ hath purchased us at as dear a rate as He hath done men, and therefore requireth like obedience for the same mercy as men. (2) Because in the free enjoying of Christ in His own laws, and a flourishing estate of the Church and Commonwealth consisteth the happiness of women as well as of men. (3) Because women are sharers in the common calamities that accompany both Church and Commonwealth, when oppression is exercised over the Church or Kingdom wherein they live; and unlimited power given to the prelates to exercise authority over the consciences of women as well as men: witness Newgate and Smithfield, and other places of persecution, wherein women, as well as men, have felt the smart of their fury. . . .

And then, which would perhaps cause surprise among those who now claim to be the descendants of the progressive party of those days, Pym, leader of the Commons (the House having graciously accepted the women's petition), went out and actually thanked them in person! So are women treated when their support is needed.

And the women, having strengthened one link in a chain that was breaking, having at a critical moment given Parliament that public support which enabled it to continue the fight which established its liberties, retired, showing a remarkable reserve amidst the wild excitement of the parties and factions of those days, and a clearness, firmness, and sanity of mind such as was being displayed by no other party except the small group in the Commons, to whose struggles men largely owe their political liberty to-day.

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* My authorities for the facts given in this article are Clarendon's "History of the Great Rebellion" and Hazlitt's translation of Guizot's "History of the English Revolution."—F.B.

THE WORKING WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW

The Women's Social and Political Union, as was announced at the London Pavilion last Monday afternoon, have definitely decided to hold their hands and to discourage all militancy until the last amendment to the Franchise Bill has had a chance of passing, while not in any way going back on their belief that the amendments are doomed to failure, and that militancy still remains the only weapon with which to force the Government. In pursuance of this decision the Working Women's Deputation will be, as previously announced, entirely non-militant.

Mr. Asquith has refused to receive the women, but Mr. Lloyd George, with whom, it is understood, Sir Edward Grey and other Ministers who are supporters of Woman Suffrage will be associated, will receive them at noon on Thursday, January 23.

Many hundreds of women have, we are informed, sent in their names to Mrs. Drummond, representing all the principal women's industries. These include the East London garment workers, the textile workers of Lancashire and the West Riding, Cradley Heath chainmakers, "pit brow lassies," and women engaged in the sweated industries, while the districts from which they will come include all parts of Great Britain. We imagine that a selection, representative of these various localities and trades, will be made for the Deputation which is to be received. The main body of the Deputation will meet in Caxton Hall, Westminster, and the spokeswomen, to the number of about twenty, will proceed to the Treasury, where their object is to demand the enfranchisement of women by a Government measure in the event of the defeat of the Woman Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill.

A Press representative was informed by a prominent Suffragist leader on Tuesday night that these arrangements for the week in which the Government's Reform Bill will probably be under discussion, do not portend a further campaign of militancy. A truce has been declared by the militants until the fate of the amendment has been decided. The women workers will remain in London throughout the week, conferring on the position as it is affected each day by the debate in Parliament. She said they regarded the consent of the Chancellor to receive a deputation as a very encouraging factor in the situation.

The Government's Decision

The Special Commissioner appointed by the *Daily Herald* to watch the Bill in the interests of women, said on January 13:—

"I believe I am not revealing any secret in saying that the general feeling among members is that this deputation of unenfranchised citizens should be properly received, and given some satisfactory assurance of the Government's intentions. . . It would be monstrous if the Government slammed the door of constitutional protest in the face of a body of working women, representing all that the interests of their class and their sex imply."

The Cabinet discussed the matter at its meeting on Monday, and came to the decision indicated above. Commenting on this, the *Daily Herald* Special Commissioner said on Tuesday, January 14:—

"So Mr. Asquith is not going to receive the deputation, and therefore loses his last and best chance to make a declaration, which would clear him of complicity in the shabby scheme for secretly dishing the women without offending their own too easily cajoled women supporters."

Referring to Mr. Lloyd George's promise to receive the Deputation, the same writer said:—

"This may mean that a new era has opened in the Woman's Movement, which has bulked so largely in public affairs during the past five or six years. No one who knows the women of the militant movement believes that the course into which they have been forced is anything but distasteful and repugnant to them. The events of the next fortnight may open to them those constitutional avenues for active work on behalf of their fellow women which now by a barbarous and ridiculous state of the law are denied to them."

The *Labour Press Agency* says:—

"The Government's decision means that there will be no Parliament Square raid. For the present it seems clear that the militants are not disposed to take the responsibility of creating any feeling which might destroy the chances of the amendments. As the result of very strong appeals made to the militant leaders, a virtual truce has been arranged. Considerable influence was exerted with the Cabinet to induce the reception of the deputation, and the militant leaders will now do everything in their power to discourage violence on the part of their followers until the amendments to the Franchise Bill are disposed of. If the amendments are rejected, however, there is little doubt that there will be a prompt resort to militant methods once more, and those methods will probably be much more violent than anything yet attempted."

According to a communication made to the *Christian Commonwealth*:—

"About twenty women who want the vote will be escorted into the presence of Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey. They will be treated with the greatest courtesy and consideration; they will be listened to with respect; and it would not be difficult to forecast, though I will not attempt to do this, the tenour of the reply that will be made to them. This new departure is a great victory for the women, and is one of many indications of the steady advance of the movement."

The Lobby correspondent of the *Daily Citizen* wrote on January 10:—

"There is a general feeling that the critical moment has come, and that if the opportunity be not taken it may not come again for some years. Apart from the justice of the claim, the Labour Party is anxious to have the matter settled for other reasons. Until the woman's claim to political justice is conceded, the path to social justice will not be clear. Many women are now doing Suffrage work who would much rather be concerned with social and industrial questions."

Mrs. Drummond's Letters

We append copies of Mrs. Drummond's letters to the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George:—

To the *Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith.*

Dear Sir,—I write on behalf of a large number of working women to ask you to grant us an interview before the discussion on votes for women takes place in the House of Commons.

The present position is, from our point of view, a very serious one, and we claim the right to discuss it with you.

The pledge you made to the women's deputation at Downing Street in November, 1911, was from the first very unsatisfactory to us. We now find, however, that even that pledge has gone by the board. What you promised was that if a woman suffrage amendment were passed by the House of Commons, the Government as a whole would include it in their Franchise Bill, and would carry it through all its stages into law. In making this promise, you said that you spoke with the approval of all your colleagues. Yet now we find that certain Cabinet Ministers are saying that they are not bound by your pledge, and that if a votes for women amendment is passed by the House of Commons, they will resign and split the Cabinet rather than be responsible for carrying it into law. This state of affairs is in itself enough to entitle us to see you and hear what you have to say.

Even if your pledge had not been broken in the way I have described, it would have been necessary for us to see you, because in our opinion the Government ought to take full responsibility for giving women the vote, instead of shifting their responsibility on to the shoulders of the House of Commons.

I shall be glad to hear when and where you can see the working women's deputation.—I am, yours faithfully,

Flora Drummond.

To the *Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George.*

Dear Sir,—I write to you on behalf of a large number of working women to ask that you will give us an interview before the discussion on votes for women takes place in the House of Commons.

You have always declared that the enfranchisement of women ought to be carried out on broad democratic lines, and in November, 1911, you said of the suffrage deputation at Downing Street that they might expect to see millions of women getting the vote in connection with the Government's Franchise Bill.

Our deputation wants to know how a clause giving votes to millions of women is going to be carried. We working women realise that we have reached a very serious crisis, because if the hopes that you have raised are not fulfilled and we are left out of the present Franchise Bill, it may be years before we get our rights. We notice that though Parliament is very busy making new laws, yet the working women are as badly off as ever. The time has come when we must have the vote, so that we can work out our own salvation.

I shall be glad to know as soon as possible when and where you can receive us.—Yours faithfully,

Flora Drummond.

"WHAT IS SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE"

There is a story going about that the Nationalists intend to celebrate the passing of the Bill through the Commons tomorrow night by organising a procession, with bands and banners, from the House of Commons to the National Liberal Club. It is to be hoped this is not true. Home Rule is not popular in London, and the temptation to reprisals would be irresistible. The police take care to keep violent women away from the precincts of the House when they want to demonstrate, and what is sauce for the Suffragist goose should be sauce for the Nationalist gander.—**Morning Post, Jan. 15.**

FROM TWO WORKING WOMEN

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—There is a lot of talk about married working women not wanting the vote because they are supported by their husbands. I should like to say I, for one, am not supported by mine. For nine years I have never known what it is to receive a penny from him. Through ill-health he had to leave his employment, since which time he has done nothing, and has been entirely supported and clothed by me. I rise at 5 a.m., and between that time and 10 a.m., I do 14 office rooms, besides lavatories. I am then allowed a short time for breakfast, after which I commence cleaning residential flats till 4.30 (longer if required) in the afternoon, with the exception of 30 minutes for dinner. At 4.30, if I am not required any longer, I am at liberty to go home, where my household duties of washing, cleaning, ironing, cooking and mending, &c., commence, and the earliest I can possibly leave off work is 10 o'clock, thus making 17 hours daily. For my work out I get £1 per week. I pay 8s. rent weekly, 2s. coals, 2s. light, 1s. insurance, 1s. 6d. for help on Fridays, thus leaving 5s. per week to keep us on, unless I earn, which I sometimes do, a few shillings in my spare time. For my home duties, and nursing my husband when he is unable to get about, I get nothing. They say that women are the "Spoilt Darlings of the Law." Mine is only one instance of hundreds, and far from being spoilt darlings, working women are only machines, to keep on until they are worn out, and I consider I have as much right to a vote as a man, because I am fulfilling a man's duties, and, in fact, a man would not work the hours women have to for so small a remuneration, although they take the credit for what a woman does.—Yours, &c.,

A Grandmother.

London, S.E.

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—I have been a reader of Votes for Women four years, and each week I read what brave women are doing in fighting for the vote that is so needful for many more like myself, who have been called upon to work for a sick husband, and are then left to take his place in working hard to bring up a family. I was left with five under eight years old; now, my daughter of seventeen years old has had to give up service to help me to get my living, and so keep a home for the younger ones. Is it fair that I should be taxed with 9d. a week for Insurance (3d. for myself and 6d. for her), as I am her employer, and yet I cannot have a voice in making such a law?

Are we always to go on like this to the end? I say, No! Women must and will win the vote, so that they can have a voice in governing the country, and life can be made easier for our children when they grow up. Men are kind in their way, but cannot sympathise with us as women can with each other. Men and women together ought to make the laws that both are expected to obey.

After reading Votes for Women I just pass it on to the gentlemen tenants where I work, and they have got quite interested now in the question through reading the paper.—Yours, &c.,

A Working Housekeeper.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

The following correspondence has taken place in pursuance of the request of the Actresses' Franchise League to be allowed to appear at the Bar of the House of Commons:—

From the Speaker.

Dear Mrs. Forbes Robertson,—I am instructed by the Speaker to acknowledge receipt of your letter requesting him to grant you permission to appear at the Bar of the House of Commons and to state your case. The Speaker wishes me to inform you that he has not power either to grant or to withhold such permission. It is only by resolution of the House that you could be admitted.

With regard to the case of the Lord Mayor of Dublin which you mention in your letter, the Speaker wishes me to inform you that by virtue of an ancient privilege the Lord Mayor of London and the Lord Mayor of Dublin have the right to appear at the Bar of the House of Commons to present petitions, but they are not allowed to make speeches on such occasions.—Yours faithfully,

Edward Cadogan.
Secretary to the Speaker.

House of Commons, January 9, 1913.

To the Speaker.

Sir,—On behalf of the Committee of the Actresses' Franchise League, we beg to thank you for your communication of the 10th inst., and acting on the information supplied by you, the Committee have decided to memorialise the House of Commons, asking it to pass the resolution embodied in the memorial of the Actresses' Franchise League.—Yours obediently,

Gertrude Forbes Robertson, President.
Adeline Bourne, Hon. Secretary.

To the Prime Minister.

Sir,—The Committee of the Actresses' Franchise League beg to thank you for your communication of January 10, but consider that in view of the history of the various Women's Suffrage Bills in the House of Commons during the last few years, and especially last year, when the Conciliation Bill was lost through the Irish vote, it is not expedient to leave the question to the Government, and the Actresses will therefore act upon the Speaker's suggestion and ask the House to pass a resolution admitting them to the Bar.—Yours obediently,

Gertrude Forbes Robertson, President.
Adeline Bourne, Hon. Secretary.

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—The Right Honourable Mr. Asquith writes, in answer to our request to be received at the Bar, that:—"He is of opinion that the question of Woman's Suffrage can be fully and adequately dealt with in the ordinary course of debate in the House of Commons." The Speaker has replied that:—"It is within the rights of the House of Commons to pass a resolution" by which the Actresses' Franchise League could be admitted to the Bar of the House of Commons. Our Committee have decided therefore to memorialise the whole House, and we should be glad if you could publish this fact, together with our replies, to the Speaker and the Prime Minister.—Yours, &c.,

Gertrude Forbes Robertson, President.
Adeline Bourne, Hon. Secretary.

It is interesting to read the following in the London Letter of the *Westminster Gazette* of January 13:—

Mrs. Forbes Robertson's application to the Speaker to be allowed to appear at the Bar and put her case in the matter of the Franchise recalls the fact that the House has from time to time availed itself of outside advocacy. Counsel have been heard, generally on the Second Reading, on Bills which were of a nature to justify the hearing of parties whose interests, as distinct from the general interest, were closely affected. Questions of public policy may be discussed by members only, but there are many cases where the House has heard persons, having distinct claims, either by counsel or without. The Cotton Factories Bill, the Canada Government Bill of 1838, and the Jamaica Bill of 1839 are cases in point; but the matter, as pointed out by Mr. Speaker, is one for the House as a whole.

We understand that the donations already received towards the New Year Fund of the Actresses' Franchise League amount to £125 5s. 9d. This sum includes donations of £50 from Miss Gertrude Elliott, £50 from Lady Cowdray, and many smaller sums.

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WAGES OF WOMEN EMPLOYED BY THE GOVERNMENT

In the Schools

The financial statistics of Public Education in England and Wales, published on January 10, are a striking evidence of the low salaries of women teachers as compared with those of men teachers. For instance, only one certificated woman assistant teacher in the country receives as much as £200 a year, as against 1,235 men, while of certificated head teachers receiving less than £100, only 3.17 per cent. are men, as against 29.85 women. This disproportion runs through all grades, both of certificated and uncertificated teachers.

In the Post Office

At a recent sitting at the House of Commons of the Select Committee on Conditions of Employment in the Post Office, Miss Cale, of the women clerks, claimed that the women employed by the State should receive as much pay as men. She instanced the case of Miss Mona Wilson, one of the Commissioners of the National Insurance Act, who was paid on the same scale as the other Commissioners. In reply to the chairman, Miss Cale said she looked forward, not only to a woman secretary of the Post Office, but to a woman Postmaster-General.

FORCIBLE FEEDING

Miss Billinghurst, in her speech to the jury at the Old Bailey on January 8, stated her intention, if imprisoned, of adopting the hunger strike "as a protest against imprisonment being given to women instead of the justice they demand," and there is grave reason to fear that she is being fed by force. Miss Billinghurst, who, as many Suffragists are aware, is an invalid who goes about on a tricycle which she propels herself, is a familiar figure in Suffrage processions, and at by elections, where she is beloved by all, and especially the children. Her gentle and courageous character has endeared her to all her comrades. "Sing lots of the Marseillaise," she wrote, in a cheery message from Holloway last week, "it gives us fresh courage."

Now that this abominable method of forcible feeding is again being resorted to, it is well to point out once more, as we have done again and again, the serious danger to life which, in spite of denials by the Home Office authorities, it involves.

On Friday, December 13, 1912, a case in point occurred when an inquest was held on the body of James McGavigan, who had died in the Asylum of Letterkenny, co. Donegal, on the previous day. McGavigan had refused supper on Wednesday night and breakfast on Thursday, whereupon the doctor decided to feed him by nasal tube. He offered no resistance. A quarter of an hour later an attendant, noticing that the man was becoming white, applied remedial measures, and sent for the doctor. The latter on arrival, however, found that the man had died in the meantime. A verdict of "Death from heart failure" was returned.

The Penal Reform League, in their Annual Report published last month, deal with the question. They write:—

"We feel bound to say that in our opinion prison is no place for forcible feeding. Wrestling with and tying down prisoners to force food down their throats or nostrils should form no part of the duty of prison officers. Even if it were right to ask prison officers to do such things, it must be remembered that prisons are secret places closed from public view and knowledge, so that it is particularly important to put them as nearly as possible beyond all suspicion of questionable practices. It has been said that the authorities were placed in a great difficulty by the 'hunger strike' of the Suffragist prisoners. So it seems; but it need not have been so. It was a matter for the medical officer of the prison to deal with."

After stating what, in the opinion of the League, is the course to follow (see VOTES FOR WOMEN, December 20, 1912), the Report proceeds:—

"It may be said that medical officers have had instructions or recommendations from higher authority. But in the matter of the health of prisoners it is not for higher authority to dictate to the medical officer on the spot, but to follow his recommendations."

Maud R. R. Mackenzie, writing to the *Daily Herald* of Tuesday, January 14, says:—

Sir,—It is interesting to note that the Recorder referred, in his address at the Old Bailey, to forcible feeding, as "torture." It has hitherto been denied by the Home Secretary to be torture, and has been described as an ordinary medical process, frequently carried out in hospitals to save life.

Sir Forrest Fulton also stated that the hunger strike caused "intense suffering . . . to those officers who, much against their inclination, are compelled to obey their superiors." The report of the Penal Reform League states that it is no part of the duty of prison officials to carry out forcible feeding; so we have now the Recorder's authority for saying that prison doctors and wardresses are compelled to torture prisoners at the bidding of their "superiors."

It is the first time that these mediæval methods have been frankly acknowledged by those in high places.

G. E. B., in the same paper, writes:—

Sir,—I should like to call attention to the fact that no information whatever can be obtained from the Holloway Prison authorities with regard to the health of the Suffragist prisoners therein. Miss Elsie Howey started a hunger strike ten days before Christmas Eve, and Miss Kitty Marion on Christmas Eve. Both of these prisoners have been forcibly fed, and grave anxiety is being felt amongst their relations and friends. I have 'phoned and written the governor of the prison, but have been unable to elicit any response whatever This, as all readers will agree, is a most unsatisfactory state of affairs, and something must be done. I should like you to give my letter publicity, as I think all Suffragists should see to it that letters are continually sent, and calls repeatedly made, until some information is given concerning the prisoners.

THE SUFFRAGE PRISONERS

In the House of Commons on Monday, January 13, Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary: Whether he can state the number of women prisoners there are at present undergoing sentences in Holloway Gaol for offences committed in connection with the agitation to secure votes for women; whether any of these, and, if any, how many, are being fed by force, and for what period has this been done in each individual case; and what has been the effect upon the health of the prisoners subject to this treatment?

Mr. McKenna: Four such prisoners are undergoing such sentences in Holloway. Of these, two are being artificially fed. One has been so fed since December 23, the other since December 28. In each case the health has been satisfactorily maintained.

Three women are still in Holloway Prison as a result of their militant action. Miss Kitty Marion, who began the hunger-strike on December 18, is, we believe, being forcibly fed. Her month expires to-morrow (Saturday). Miss Billinghurst, to whom we refer elsewhere, was sentenced on Thursday in last week (January 9) to eight months in the first division, and a similar sentence was imposed on Miss Gay. Miss Elsie Howey, sentenced on December 11 to two months, who started the hunger-strike at once, was released on Tuesday last, her fine having been paid without her knowledge or consent. We understand that her physical condition is serious. Miss Jane Shortt has been released on the expiration of her sentence of six months' imprisonment in the first division. Miss Margaret Ker was released from Walton Gaol, Liverpool, on January 4. She was sentenced at Manchester Assizes on November 22 to three months' imprisonment.

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LLANYSTUMDWY AGAIN

As we go to press we learn that the Pwllheli magistrates on Wednesday, January 15, dismissed the charge against Owen Williams, a Portmadoc labourer, of having committed an aggravated assault upon Miss Elizabeth Jordan, a militant Suffragist, during the opening of the Llanystumdwy Institute by Mr. Lloyd George on September 21. Miss Jordan related that when she interrupted the Chancellor the crowd set upon her. Besides being subjected to other outrageous attacks, she was repeatedly struck in the face, her wrist was bitten, and she was nearly throttled.

THE PILLAR-BOX CASES

The three Suffragists, Miss May Billinghurst, Miss Grace Mitchell, and Miss Louisa Gay, were again before the Recorder at the Central Criminal Court on Thursday, January 9, when the sentences, deferred from the previous day, were pronounced.

Detective-inspector Brown said that Miss Mitchell was of independent means, and had for some time been engaged as a visitor among the poor. A medical woman, Miss Lovibond, said that Miss Williams was a chronic invalid, suffering from curvature of the spine, gastritis, and rheumatism.

In passing sentence, the Recorder said that he had no doubt that the women were animated by the highest and purest motives in what they did, and that, having spent many years among the poorest class of women, they had been impressed by the miseries which resulted from the sweating system, which everybody knew was constantly in force, and which often led to the degradation of women and to other results almost too terrible to contemplate. Therefore they did not belong to the class of hysterical women many of whom were associated with this movement, and who appeared to be animated in some measure by a desire for notoriety. He did not believe that this entered at all into the prisoners' calculations; but at the same time they had committed a breach of the law.

"In the course of your address to the jury," said his lordship to Miss Billinghurst, "you referred to the efforts which for more than a generation have been carried on. You seem to imagine that that constitutional advocacy of the claims of women to receive the franchise has been a failure. That is not the general opinion. On the contrary, the general opinion is that but for the mistaken action of a section of the women's franchise movement, with whom you have associated yourself, probably by this time, certainly within a very early date, a reasonable extension of the franchise to women would have been secured. I am afraid that the mistaken action of those who have acted with you has resulted in putting that movement back perhaps for another generation.

"In the course of your speech you stated your intention of resorting to that very wicked act of abstaining from taking food if sent to prison, which can only bring untold misery on yourself and no benefit or advantage of any kind to the cause you have at heart. In the same way it would cause not only intense suffering to you, but to those officers who, much against their inclination, are compelled to obey their superiors, and inflict upon you the torture which must necessarily follow from forcible feeding. I wish I could induce you to desist from a lamentable course of conduct, which cannot possibly forward your object."

He sentenced Miss Billinghurst to eight months' imprisonment in the first division, but in view of her health would only bind Miss Mitchell over. Referring to Miss Gay, he said she addressed the jury with conspicuous ability and in a manner which showed that she had been endowed with a beautiful voice. This might have been used with advantage in the constitutional advocacy of votes for women. He sentenced her also to eight months' imprisonment in the first division.

Miss Billinghurst: I rebel against any imprisonment in any division.

The Recorder: In that you must take your own course. My duty is to administer the law.

Miss Billinghurst: The Government should be imprisoned, not I.

Miss Gay: I see again to-day that there are no women in this court. I thought that this was a public court, my lord, and that women formed part of the public. I protest against no women being in this court.

A PUBLIC RIGHT

By A. P. Spanton

The refusal of the Recorder to admit women to the Central Criminal Court at the recent trial of Miss Billinghurst and others raises again the question of the right of the public to admission to our Courts of Justice. As a general principle, nothing is clearer than the proposition that every person, male or female, has an absolute right to admission to all courts, whether civil or criminal. Conclusive authorities for this proposition are, however, not so accessible as might be expected, and as the assertion of the public right generally involves a conflict with a judicial authority, it appears that the only useful course is to descend from generalities, and to cite the actual authorities.

In the first place, it may be said definitely that the Law (as distinguished from the judges who administer it) in this instance draws no distinction whatever between men and women. In Halsbury's "Laws of England" (Vol. 9, p. 9) it is stated: "As a general principle all courts must be open to the public, though the judge may for good and sufficient reason order that the public, or a certain section of the public, shall be temporarily excluded." And in the "Encyclopædia of the Laws of England" (2nd edition, page 157) it is stated: "Criminal cases, whether tried summarily or on indictment, must be heard in open court." It may be added that when a Criminal Law Amendment Bill was passing through the House of Commons about 1885, a clause giving this power of exclusion was deliberately struck out, and I believe the same thing happened when an earlier Divorce Bill was being discussed.

With regard to Courts of Summary Jurisdiction (under which the Metropolitan Police Courts are included) direct statutory authority can be given. The Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1848, Sec. 12, prescribes that: "The room or place in which such justices . . . . shall sit . . . . shall be deemed to be an open and public court to which the public generally may have access so far as the same can conveniently contain them." This is confirmed by the Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, Sec. 20 (1), and I think it is safe to say that it is only declaratory of the law respecting all other courts.

With regard to the exclusion of women, it is stated in the "Encyclopædia of the Laws of England" (page 518): "It is a common practice to order women and children out of court when certain classes of criminal charges are being heard, but the order as to adult women has neither common law nor statutory authority, and is not enforceable by any lawful process." There are, however, certain cases in which the courts, without any statutory authority, are in the habit of excluding the public, namely, in cases in which a hearing in public would frustrate the whole object of the suit. . . . The public are also sometimes excluded in cases concerning wards of court, lunatics, and (by consent of the parties) family disputes, and in cases to restrain the disclosure of confidential communications, but it should be noticed that even in these cases it has no right to discriminate between men and women.

A reporter, whether a man or woman, has the same rights of admission to courts of justice and the same remedies for enforcing them.

Note the date !

JAN. 23

IS

POODLE-WOMAN

DAY

COMING EVENTS

The debate on the Woman Suffrage amendments, expected to begin during the coming week, will be marked by special arrangements on the part of the principal suffrage societies. The Women's Social and Political Union (Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway) will hold a daily conference to watch progress. The Women's Freedom League (1, Robert Street, Adelphi) will hold a meeting in Trafalgar Square to-morrow, Saturday, January 18, at 2.30 p.m., and will hold daily poster parades. The Actresses' Franchise League (2, Robert Street, Adelphi) have plans with regard to a peaceful picket. The Free Church League for Woman Suffrage (2, Holmbury View, Springfield, Clapton) will hold devotional meetings at the Wesleyan Central Hall.

At the end of January Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will visit Ireland, and we are asked to announce the following meetings:—On Tuesday, January 28, Mrs. Lawrence and Mr. George Lansbury will speak in the Sackville Hall, Dublin, at 8 p.m., Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington in the chair. On Wednesday, January 29, a reception will be held in Dublin. On Thursday, January 30, Mrs. Lawrence and Mr. Lansbury will speak in the Ulster Hall, Belfast, at 8 p.m., and on the following day a reception will be held in Belfast.

Mrs. Lawrence will also speak in Rickmansworth Town Hall on Wednesday, February 12, Mr. H. D. Harben in the chair.

Mr. Cameron Grant is speaking at 24, Buckingham Gate, for the New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage (8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge), to-day (Friday) on "a point of special interest in connection with the White Slave Traffic." Lord Willoughby de Broke is in the chair.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak for the M.P.U. in the Corn Exchange, Oxford, on Tuesday, February 11.

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ST. BRIDE'S DAY

We have been asked to insert the following signed appeal:—

By arrangement with various bodies interested in the Suffrage question, February 1, St. Bride's Day, will be held as a day of special meditation and intercession in Westminster Abbey, in St. Paul"s, and in various cathedrals, chapels, and churches throughout Great Britain.

The day falls this year on a Saturday. Men and women, however they may feel with regard to the solution of the present crisis, are asked to join in this common approach of the ultimate and innermost aspects of the question, earnestly desiring that the consciousness of the world may be so heightened that clear light may be gained on the difficult path, and increase of wisdom and power to achieve.

Men and women specially interested in the matter are asked to keep three minutes at noon for silent remembrance and prayer, wherever they may be, during the week January 20 to 27, during which days the Suffrage question will be before the Commons.

Signed.

Basil Wilberforce, D.D. (Rev.), Archdeacon of Westminster.
John Clifford, D.D. (Rev.).
C. Fleming Williams (Rev.).
Muriel, Countess De La Warr.
Percy Dearmer, D.D. (Rev.).
Katie Macdonald (Mrs. David).
Florence Bramwell Booth (Mrs.).
Alice Mary Buckton (Miss).
Edith Bigland (Mrs.).
Isabel Somerset (Lady Henry).
John Hunter, D.D. (Rev.).
J. Scott Lidgett, D.D. (Rev.).

◆

THE PIONEER PLAYERS

We are asked to announce that membership at half season rates can be arranged for as follows: Stalls £1, balcony stalls 13s. 6d., gallery 6s. 6d. Not only does this season's performance include a play new to London, "A Matter of Money," by Cicely Hamilton, at the King's Hall, Covent Garden, on February 2, at 8 p.m., and later "The King's Threshold," by W. B. Yeats, together with a new one-act play by Sudermann, but a religious drama dealing with the penitent "Thais," by the Benedictine Nun Hroswitha, who lived in the tenth century. Suffragists will be interested to hear that the plays of Hroswitha were the first dramas of the Christian era, and as far as can be ascertained have never been produced outside the Convent of Gandersheim. It was left to a woman to write, play in, and produce the first drama since Terence.

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"NOT LIKE HOME ANY MORE"

Some merry Suffragist has been enlivening the pages of an American paper with a list of Anti-Suffrage reasons for denying women the vote. Here are two of them:—

(1) Some women would undoubtedly sell their votes for a new hat or a box of candy. It costs only a drink or a cigar to buy a man's vote, which is more economical to the State.

(2) Women know nothing about political affairs. Why, if women had the chance they would want to do a regular spring housecleaning job for the whole country. It wouldn't seem like home here any more.

THE PROVINCIAL PRESS

On the Franchise Bill

Mr. Pease, on behalf of the Government, has given notice of amendments which will materially reduce the bulk of the Franchise Bill, and it would not be greatly surprising if the scheme of virtual manhood suffrage were dropped and the measure made to deal only with the abolition of plural voting, with the shortening of the term of qualification, and with the simplification of the process of registration. Certainly the opponents of Women's Suffrage would not object to see the measure so truncated. **Newcastle Chronicle, Jan. 10.**

The question which is causing most agitation to Liberals at the moment is as to whether Radical Suffragists will vote against the third reading of the Bill if Sir Edward Grey's amendment is rejected. In that case the defeat of the Bill might be involved, for Unionists as a body will go into the Division Lobby against it on the ground that it is a mere piece of political jerrymandering. Any danger of the Bill being defeated by such a combination of Unionists and Liberal Suffragists would, in the last resort, however, probably be thwarted by the Government dropping the measure altogether, on the plea that there was not sufficient time for its consideration.—**Halifax Daily Guardian, Jan, 9.**

At present the Bill does not include women, but the only people who are really active are the women Suffragists, and in this connection it is to be noted that Yorkshire millhands will be included in the deputation of women wage-earners which is to interview the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George on January 20 to urge their claim to the franchise. So far as we know Mr. Asquith has not altered in his conviction that the enfranchisement of all women would be a national disaster. — **Bradford Daily Argus.**

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WOMEN LIBERALS

The result of the debate on the women's amendments to the Franchise Bill is being awaited with very special interest by the Women's Liberal Associations. The non-party Suffragists, and more particularly the militant wing, have maintained that these great organisations, which render invaluable help to the Liberal party at election and other times, hold the key to the Women's Suffrage situation. Already dissension has taken place between those members who place party first and those who attach most importance to Women's Suffrage. The Executive of the Women's Liberal Federation, which is understood to be strongly Suffragist, has already decided that, in the event of a Women's Suffrage Amendment being carried, the question of calling a special Council meeting of the entire Federation to determine what is to be the future work of the Federation shall be considered on January 28.—**Yorkshire Post, Jan. 13.**

ENGLISH WOMEN IN KIRKE KILISSEH

(*Special to* VOTES FOR WOMEN)

"A group of ladies well prepared,
Resolved war sighs with us to share.
They started from a far off land,
We think by God they were all sent.

. . . .

That He may give you double share
For your kind sisterly care.
This is a simple soldi r's wish,
Served on a plain soldier's dish."

Address of Bulgarian patients done into Engli h.
Verse by Bulgarian girl interpreter.

The sixteen women of the Women's Sick and Wounded Convoy Corps, who have since October been in the Balkans, where, at the request of the authorities they established a hospital at Kirke Kilisseh, have also established what seems to be a record in that they set up and managed the hospital without the help of men. Doctors, nurses, and cooks, all were women, and in no way did they find their sex a disability. The only fear had been that the soldiers might not care to be nursed by women, but when at the end of their term they had to transfer their patients to another hospital, the men almost wept, saying, "You have been mothers to us."

It will be remembered that the British Red Cross Society, unlike the other foreign societies sending out "missions," decided to send no women to the front, but the Convoy Corps, having trained strenuously for years, felt that the occasion should not be neglected, and as soon as Mrs. St. Clair Stobart, their President, found on inquiry in Bulgaria that their help would be acceptable, they went out. It was a rough experience, rough in their week's journey over mountains and across plains, through deserted villages and devastated fields, where only an insufficient supply of the coarsest food was obtainable, and very rough in the hastily improvised hospital at Kirke Kilisseh, where almost at once bullock carts drew up at the door to deliver a batch of 50 wounded men from Tchataldja. This prompt call for help spoke great confidence on the part of the authorities, but it severely taxed the resources of the staff, who were still "moving in." Other hospitals, it may be said, had a fortnight instead of less than forty-eight hours for preparation. The doctors — who also ran an out-patients' department—did splendid work, and were able in the end to boast of only one death among those 700 patients. Quite as fine was the record of the cooks, who were confronted with all sorts of difficulties, had to do all the cooking in saucepans over an open fire, and had also to skin and cut up the whole carcases of bullocks and sheep, which were sent in quite unprepared. They had been told it would be difficult to please the Bulgarian's peculiar taste, but constantly grateful messages came down to them.

Some few of the patients were Turks. One of these, remembering what happened to Bulgarian prisoners, asked in alarm, "When am I going to be killed?" The great majority, however, were Bulgarian privates of the small farmer class, and judging the nation by these samples, the staff formed the highest expectations for Bulgaria's future.

The Corps only went for a three months' term, and hoped by the time they returned that peace was in sight. Their work has been warmly commended by fellow-workers in Kirke Kilisseh, and most of all they value the appreciative thanks of the administrative commander in Thrace, and of the head of the Bulgarian Army Medical Staff, at whose request they went out, and who expresses the greatest satisfaction with the service they rendered. Their success was largely due, Mrs. Stobart considers, to the training the Corps had undergone, and she insists that only trouble can follow when such arduous work in circumstances so irregular is attempted by women who are neither trained nor disciplined.

GIRL LABOUR

A recent Mansion House Conference on the subject of Juvenile Employment (at which many of the speakers talked about boy labour as though there were no girls in the labour market at all) is still fresh in our minds, so it is interesting to hear that the annual report of the New South Wales Department of Public Instruction gives a compilation of the occupations followed by girls who had left school. Out of the 5,580 girl scholars who finished their education in the last school year 4,150 were to undertake home duties, while another 244 were to enter domestic service. Only 14 signified their intention of entering the university to qualify for the higher professions, and the remainder were turning their attention chiefly to teaching and commerce.

This does not look as though the interests of the home were entirely subordinated to political and professional occupations in the country where women have had the vote since 1902.

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"THE SPOILT DARLING OF THE LAW"

We have before had occasion to draw attention to the greater severity that is shown towards the mother in cases where both parents are charged wih manslaughter through neglect of a child. A similar case appeared in the *Times* of January 10, in which a man and a woman were remanded for trial, and although nothing is reported to show that the guilt of the mother was greater than that of the father, the man alone was allowed bail.

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HENRY K. WARD,
48, GT. PORTLAND STREET, LONDON, W.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP.

May I be enrolled in the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship? I have been selling the paper for the past five weeks on Friday evenings, and hope that you will approve of my continuing to do so at the same pitch in the future. It is all that I am able to do to help, but I do hope it is enough to justify my belonging to the Fellowship. (D. U. T.)

I should like to join your VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, and am sending you my subscription towards the Poster Fund from "A Rebel in India."

Please enrol me in the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. I have had posters up at two stations for nearly a year, to which I get country members to contribute. I will undertake to keep these posters up, or, if desirable, when our present subscription runs out, to move one to a more populous station. The newsagents all tell me the poster is a great help to the sale of the paper, and at little stations it rather surprises people into conversation on the subject to see it. (A. L. D.)

It gives me pleasure to present twelve new members for the Fellowship as willing workers for the New Year. "Up and Act" is our Fellowship motto, and each has promised to work, distributing weekly the paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, with its inspiring message to a friend or friends. We are now quite a small band in Harringay, solid in our aim, firm in our purpose, "Foursquare to all opposition." Next week I shall start canvassing, to bring the number of weekly subscribers to the paper up to fifty. (R. FLORENCE HARRIS.)

I am writing to ask if I can be enrolled a member of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. I am enclosing a P.O., and shall hope to send a small donation from time to time. I am now taking five VOTES weekly for myself and friends, and hope to increase the number. (M. B.)

Please allow the four of us to join the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. We did so in spirit in the very beginning, and only much pressure and many claims upon us prevented our doing so formally sooner than this. It goes without saying that we always take the paper, and also continue to supply a small and remote village with it. Though we can do very little, we never lose an opportunity of trying to get people to take it. I enclose a small subscription from myself and my husband and from each of the girls. (W.)

Will you please enrol my name on the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship? This is a New Year's resolution. For a start I am selling six copies per week. I hope soon to double that number. (E. A. F.)

I would like to join the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. I have been taking your paper for nearly a year now, and I find it most interesting, and have done what I could in recommending others to read it. I always pass mine on. (A. G.)

My sister, writing from Canada, has asked me to send in her name to your VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. When in England she used to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN for years, and although in her new life her opportunities of doing useful work are much modified, she will do what she can to spread the gospel. I, too, would like my name added to your list of members. I am not able to do much, but buy extra copies of VOTES to sell at my pitch. (A.)

I am writing to you as an utter stranger, but thought you would like to know how very much I appreciate your leading article in the Christmas number of VOTES FOR WOMEN. While reading it through I decided to send copies as New Year Greetings to my friends, whether they are in favour of Votes for Women or not. It only shows how the Woman's Movement must be in the air—even finding its way to trivial domestic incidents. You must know that a little boy and girl take it in turns to deliver my cat's meat, and hitherto I have given the boy three bright pennies for a Christmas-box and the girl two bright pennies. This Christmas it flashed upon me all of a sudden: "Why do you give the girl only two pennies and her brother three? She does the same delivery, she crosses the same dangerous crossing, and she is also younger, consequently her performance does her more credit relatively. No, you please to give *her* threepence as well as *him*." A very insignificant item, you will say, but straws show which way the wind is blowing. I suppose, as I cannot do more than take in VOTES FOR WOMEN regularly and pass them on to throw light on ignorance of the Votes for Women movement (which is so evident among Christian ladies who do not think as your paper helps us to think on this woman's mighty eternal movement), I can hardly consider myself eligible for your Fellowship; but I will say this, that long before I heard of any woman's movement I prayed daily for the women and mothers in poor circumstances who led such drudging lives.

"MEMOIRS OF AN ACTRESS."

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—The interesting review of the "Memoirs of an Actress" in the latest VOTES FOR WOMEN contains one or two inaccuracies. Having a clear recollection of the sequence of the events in question, may I be allowed to state it? Louis Napoleon was not the "reigning Prince" in 1848. He had, before that time, made an abortive attempt at an insurrection, had been captured, and imprisoned in the Castle of Ham, whence he escaped to England and lived as a private person. He was sworn in as a special constable on the day (April 10) when the Chartists carried their monster petition to the Commons. In 1848 Louis, the nineteenth of that name among the French Kings, better known as Louis Philippe, was driven from his throne by the revolution. *Punch* had the following comment:—

"Louis Philippe has lost his sheep,
And doesn't know where to find them;
The people of France have made an advance,
And left their King behind them."

Louis Philippe escaped by boat to England, as "Mr. Smith," carrying a large cotton umbrella. France then was Republican for several years, the prominent leaders being M. Lamartine, M. Louis Blanc, and M. Ledru Rollin. After some time, Louis Napoleon, having returned to France, became President, and then by the notorious *coup d'état* of December 2, had himself proclaimed Emperor, and reigned till the defeat of the French at Sedan by the Germans.—Yours, &c.,

C. E. FERRIS.

Penarth.

WOMEN UNDER THE INSURANCE ACT.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—It appears that insured women who wish to be attended by a medical woman are likely to fare badly under the Act unless they assert themselves. Many desire this service, and there are few women on the panels. All wish for a doctor in whom they have confidence. The following instance is a case in point:—The proprietor of a large private hotel at a North Wales watering-place, whose female staff has up to the present been attended by a medical woman, wrote to the clerk of the County Commissioners, inquiring what steps these women could take in order to retain the services of their present medical attendant. It was pointed out that this lady absolutely declined to go on the panel, though she was prepared to make private arrangements with the establishment in question. Furthermore, that no other medical woman was available. The answer returned was that such reasons were quite inadequate, and that doctors on the panel must be selected.

The upper servants say that they will forfeit "the doctor's money" and become private patients, a course impossible to others, often young country girls away from home, to whom it is a great comfort to have one of their own sex to whom they can speak freely. The injustice to all concerned is obvious.

In the same practice there are about 200 cases of "companions," shop-assistants, and others, who are in a similar position. These, apparently, are to be forced to accept the unwelcome service of one of the few men who have gone on the panel.

One wonders if it would be considered an "inadequate reason" if an "insured male person" who happened to have only one "panel doctor" in his radius, and that a woman, objected to having her professional attentions forced on him.

It cannot be too widely known that Sect. 15, Par. 3 of the Act allows insured persons to make their own arrangements with doctors not on the panel. Those desirous of so doing should consult their present medical attendant at once.—Yours, &c.,

HELEN GORDON CLARK, M.D.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—We find the Press this week suggests, but does not advise, application to contract out under the Insurance Act. We also learn that every application will receive special attention, and that permission will be granted in response to an adequate reason only.

May I suggest that herein lies an immediate opportunity for every woman concerned in the Insurance Act to further the work of her Suffrage Society by expressing emphatically her determination to receive medical attendance from a member of her own sex alone?

If in every district in which no woman's name appears on the panel every woman concerned applied for permission to contract out, i.e., herself receive the payment which would otherwise go to her medical adviser, Mr. Lloyd George would find his hands uncomfortably full in investigating all such claims, and would, we presume, grant the reason as adequate.—Yours, &c.,

S. CELIA SPARGER (W.S.P.U.).

◆

At a meeting of the Northern Association of Medical Women, held in Liverpool and attended by representatives from Leeds, Manchester, Preston, Wrexham, Liverpool, and Birkenhead, reports were received from members in Bolton, Chester, Oldham, Hull, Sheffield, Buxton, Kendal, Halifax, and Wakefield, and the following resolution was passed unanimously:—"That inasmuch as the patients of medical women are frequently scattered over a wide area special facilities should be given by the Insurance Committees to such insured persons to make their own arrangements."

DEATH BY STARVATION

A terrible indictment of a social system for which men alone continue to be responsible is afforded by the White Paper just issued by the Local Government Board, in which it appears that in the year 1911 there were 100 deaths in England and Wales from "starvation, or privation due to destitution," or "accelerated by lack of food, shelter, or medical attention, arising from poverty." It is impossible to read the details of these hundred human tragedies without noticing that certain features appear characteristic of nearly all the cases. "No application was made by or on behalf of the deceased for relief," occurs again and again. "Would sooner die in the street than go into the workhouse" is another characteristic comment. Taking this fierce hatred of the workhouse, this passionate independence of spirit, into account, we do not wonder that eighty-two out of the 100 cases were those in which no application of any kind had been made for poor relief, or had only been made when the applicant was dying.

Penalisation of Mothers

To Suffragists the penalisation of mothers under the Children Act of 1908, in cases where children are the victims, will come as no surprise, so long as the law is on the side of the father. In one case a laundress was tried and convicted under the Act for manslaughter of her child, three months old, in neglecting "to procure proper food and medical attention through the Poor Laws." She was unmarried. Why was not the father in the dock beside her?

In another case, where the parents were married, the report of the Clerk to the Guardians of the Union contains this significant sentence: "If I remember aright, the man got off on a technicality, but the woman was sent to prison for a month." Yet there is no record of any charge of manslaughter being brought against the man whose wife, aged forty-six, died from "heart failure, accelerated by blood poisoning, from verminous condition, due to wilful neglect of husband."

Any woman who thinks that women do not need votes because (1) the men can govern better without them; and (2) because women are the spoilt children of the law, should study this story of a hundred deaths.

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HIGH CLASS WORK ONLY.
SEND A POST CARD FOR PRICE LIST.
NO HOSPITALS OR HOTEL CONTRACTS TAKEN

THE WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE

The Committee of the Women's Tax Resistance League have asked us to announce that owing to increased membership and pressure of work they have now opened an additional office at the same address, 10, Talbot House, 98, St. Martin's Lane, W.C., where they will welcome all callers and be glad to answer all questions on the subject of resisting Imperial Taxation.

◆

Miss Floriel Florean, who is giving South African Folk Songs in the Boer dialect at Bechstein Hall on Tuesday evening, January 21, is a member of the Actresses' Franchise League and of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. Half the profits of the concert are to be given to the Suffrage cause.

◆

Much statistical and other useful information is contained in the *Daily News* Year Book for 1913, price 6d., now in its fourth year of publication. Among special articles is one by Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., on the prospects of the Woman Suffrage movement in 1913, with some of which militants will probably find themselves at issue. Lady Bunting writes on the White Slave Traffic, and Mrs. Higgs on Hostels for Working Women.

◆

Women Suffragists living in the country and visiting London occasionally will be glad to know that at the new Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James', S.W. (near Piccadilly Circus), bedrooms can be rented for a week or so at a time, at a moderate cost. The club also contains a comfortable lounge, dining room, telephone, and a cosy looking lecture-room, which can be hired by members for a nominal charge.

A new school, the Japanese School of Self Defence, has been opened at Queen's Gate Hall, Harrington Road, S.W., where instruction is given in jujutsu, fencing, roller skating, boxing, and other sports. A lady instructor attends daily. A jujutsu display will be given on January 22. Application for tickets should be made to the secretary at the school.

Miss Katherine Bushnell, who has for a long time past advertised her pamphlet, "101 Questions Answered," in VOTES FOR WOMEN, writes:—"I have an intense desire to induce as many women as I can reach to interpret their Bible by what their Bible says, and not according to the traditions of men, for I believe that the future welfare of both Church and Society depends upon women doing so." The pamphlet may be obtained from Miss Bushnell, Bernard Lodge, 10A, Drayton Park, Highbury, London, N., for 7d., post free.

REAL OLD CAMEOS.
We have a choice selection of the GENUINE ITALIAN CAMEOS from 10s. each, in the old-fashioned mounts, for brooches, rings, ear-rings, or bangles. Each one guaranteed. Approval willingly.
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Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s. 1d. per word for every additional word Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, Votes for Women, *4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

ALL-DAY DEVOTIONAL MEETING. Free Church League, 20th inst. (day of Reform Bill), at Caxton Hall, Westminster. Times: 12 to 1, 3 to 4.30, 6 to 7.30. Open to all.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception, Friday, January 17, Westminster Palace Hotel, Victoria Street, S.W., 3.30-6.15, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, Miss Palliser, Miss Maud Royden.

"QUI VIVE!"—Will all Dorset members try to attend meeting at Broadstone Market, Saturday, 18th, 6.45 p.m.?

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds Public Meetings at Caxton Hall, Westminster, every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers on January 22: J. Malcolm Mitchell, Esq., and Miss Boyle. The chair will be taken promptly at 3.30 by Mrs. Tanner.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerrard.

BAKER STREET.—Bedroom, double bed, ground-floor; suitable for two ladies engaged during the day; use of dining-room; meals and week-ends; rent very moderate.—30, Upper Gloucester Place, Dorset Square.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s. Close Baker Street Underground and Tube. Bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone 4339 Paddington.—Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

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BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good Table. Congenial Society. Terms from 25s. —Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road, W. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key (W.S.P.U.)

GUESTS received in Lady's Country House; good cooking, vegetarian if required; indoor sanitation; hot baths; home comforts; south aspect; bracing.—Box 266, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court.

HAMPSTEAD. — A HOSTEL for Workers, Students, and others (ladies). High position, quiet, sunny, healthy. Good garden. Within few minutes (by 'bus) of Metropolitan stations, and close to the Finchley Road, where good service motor-omnibuses reach Oxford Street in 22 minutes. Terms for comfortable bed or bed-sitting room, with breakfast and dinner and all meals on Sunday, from 26s. weekly.—Write, Secretary, West Heath Hostel, 25, Ferncroft Avenue, Hampstead. Telephone 653.

HYDE PARK.—Comfortable, refined Home, 17s. 6d. to 25s.; day, 4s. 6d.; late dinner; telephone; baths; central.—19, James Street, Westbourne Terrace.

LADY wishes another, engaged during day, to share her well-furnished Flat, Marylebone; 25s. to 30s. per week; with breakfast only, 17s. 6d.—B., Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court.

LADIES, with furniture, can have room (use of sitting, board) in home now being formed.—34, Somerfield Road, Finsbury Park. Close to Tube.

LONDON.—Carlton Private Hotel, 14, Craven Street, Charing Cross; room and breakfast, from 4s.; central; convenient. Tel: 219 Gerrard.

LONDON, W.C. (113, Gower Street).—Refined HOME (ladies). Bed, breakfast, dinner, and full board Sundays (cubicle), from 15s. 6d. Rooms, 19s. 6d. Full board, 17s. 6d. to 25s. Gentlemen from 19s. 6d.

PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

REGENT'S PARK, N.W.—3, Gloucester Road; furnished apartments or board-residence; close to Park and Zoo; 1d. Oxford Circus; every convenience; terms moderate.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SUFFRAGETTES, keep well and fit by spending your week-ends at Brighton. Comfortable Board-residence at Miss Turner (W.S.P.U.), Sea View, Victoria Road. Terms Moderate. Nat. Tel., 1702 Brighton.

SUPERIOR BOARD-RESIDENCE for those engaged in City; food reform or ordinary diet; close to Midland and Great Northern Stations.—"Evanstor," Mill Hill, N.W.

29 AND 30, QUEEN SQUARE, W.C.—High-class boarding establishment, terms from 35s. weekly; 6s. per day; heated throughout hot water system.—Proprietress.

WANTED.—Accommodation for one in house of professional woman (preferred); hot bath, some attendance, meals (vegetarian), if required; terms moderate; district, W. or S.W.—Box 304, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

TO LET, Unfurnished, whole or part of top-floor, 4 rooms, over-looking Regent's Park; low rent; also furnished bed-sitting room.—Apply, X. Y. Z., Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

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GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? Send 7d. (15cts., American stamps) for *101 Questions Answered*, a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities.—Katharine Bushnell, "Bernard Lodge," 10A, Drayton Park, Highbury, London, N.

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.). Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. Please note change of address to "The Châlet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

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"Your work has given the greatest satisfaction."

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LADY, going to Switzerland, February to end of May, wishes to take another lady; walker; walking tours, picnics, &c.; railway and board provided; references exchanged.—Box 302, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court.

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ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only *permanent* cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 3307 Paddington.

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FRESH FISH.—Direct from Steamer. Carriage paid; cleaned and prepared for cooking; send 1s. 6d. for 4lb choice parcel.—The Quality Fish Supply Co. (Dept. K), Aberdeen.

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NEW LAID EGGS, 2s. dozen. Contracts undertaken for the supply of new laid and water-glassed eggs to Egg Circles. Details from Lorna Rowland, Burnham Market, Norfolk.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BLOUSES, BLOUSES, BLOUSES, BLOUSES.—Any number of Cast-off Blouses wanted. The extreme value remitted.—Miss Kate Cutler, 24, Sunninghill Road, St. John's, Lewisham.

BONELESS CORSETS.—New invention, unbreakable. Lists free.—Write, Knitted Corset Co., Nottingham.

DRINK SALUTARIS. Health-giving Table Water. Distilled. Absolutely pure and free from all microbes; Aerated or Still. Unrivalled for gout and rheumatism. Ask your grocer or write Salutaris Company, 236, Fulham Road, London, S.W. (mentioning this advert.).

GRAND PIANO, perfect as new, scarcely used; great bargain; no reasonable offer refused.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

HAIR FALLING OFF.—Lady who lost nearly all hers, and has now strong, heavy growth, sends particulars to anyone enclosing stamped, addressed envelope.—Miss V. W. Field, Glendower, Shanklin.

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